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## CONTENTS

### *Articles*

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| J. GONDA, Vedic gods and the sacrifice .....  | 1   |
| H.-P. HASENFRATZ, Iran und der Dualismus .....  | 35  |
| B. C. DIETRICH, Divine Epiphanies in Homer .....  | 53  |
| MARK EDWARD CLARK, Spes in the Early Imperial Cult:<br>“the Hope of Augustus” .....                                     | 80  |
| JOHN HOWE, The Awesome Hermit .....   | 106 |
| R. J. Z. W., In memoriam: C. Jouco Bleeker (1898-1983) ....   | 129 |
| LUTHER H. MARTIN, Why Cecropian Minerva? Hellenistic<br>Religious Syncretism as System .....                            | 131 |
| HANS G. KIPPENBERG, Gnostiker zweiten Ranges: zur Insti-<br>tutionalisierung gnostischer Ideen als Anthropolatrie ..... | 146 |
| RENÉE NEU WATKINS, Two Women Visionaries and<br>Death. Catherine of Siena and Julian of Norwich .....                   | 174 |
| Y. KRISHAN, Karma Vipāka .....  | 199 |
| MANABU WAIDA, Problems of Central Asian and Siberian<br>Shamanism .....   | 215 |

### *Review articles*

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| B. C. A. WALRAVEN, Korean shamanism .....  | 240 |
| P. SJ. VAN KONINGSVELD, <i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> -I: Islam .....              | 265 |
| GALINA KELLERMAN, Les prières hittites (A propos d’une<br>récente monographie) ..... | 269 |

### *Book reviews*

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Zuesse, Evan M., <i>Ritual Cosmos</i> (STEVEN KAPLAN) .....                                      | 120 |
| Brelich, Angelo, <i>Storia delle religioni, perché? — Perennitas</i><br>(N. J. RICHARDSON) ..... | 281 |

|                                    |          |
|------------------------------------|----------|
| <i>Publications received</i> ..... | 123, 284 |
|------------------------------------|----------|

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| <i>Chronicle and calendar of events</i> ..... | 126, 286 |
|---|----------|

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## VEDIC GODS AND THE SACRIFICE

J. GONDA

Among those subjects which, though being of no mean interest, do not seem to have received the attention they deserve is the relation that in the religion of the Veda was supposed to exist between the great gods, especially the creator god, on the one hand and the sacrificial ritual as an institution on the other. Whereas the handbooks on Indian religion provide their readers with more or less copious information on the structure and purport of sacrifices, on the materials used and the oblations offered, the deities worshipped, objects pursued and other points of ritual technique and practice; whereas some authors discuss questions as to how far this ritual has a 'magic power' of its own, or how far it is man's intention by means of the rites to renew and strengthen the bonds between himself and the gods worshipped; whereas also the underlying doctrine of *do ut des*, or rather *do ut possis dare* — excellently expressed in the *sūktavāka* formula in which the deity declares that he has accepted the offering, has become strengthened by it, has acquired greater might (made his power greater), and the wish is expressed that the sacrificer may prosper accordingly<sup>1</sup> — has been said to be "the fundamental fact of the whole Vedic religion"<sup>2</sup>, other problems, for instance that of whether or not the sacrificial ritual was believed to be based on divine will, initiative or authority, or that of whether divine power is inherent or effective in the rites or in the material or formulae used, as well as the question as to whether the great gods are equally and in the same manner supposed to be concerned with the establishment and operation of the ritual, have, as far as I am able to see, been hardly touched upon. It is no exaggeration to say that these questions and some allied points seem to have escaped the notice of most authors or that they could have been dealt with at greater length. Is it not a curious thing that in the three chapters and 60 pages devoted by Keith to a general characterization of the Vedic sacrifices the names of the gods Viṣṇu and Prajāpati, who both of them are again and again said to be

identical with the sacrifice<sup>3</sup>, do not occur? It is true that the fact that it is the worshipper's aim to avert Rudra's dangerous presence "makes a certain degree of difference between the case of Rudra and the other gods"<sup>4</sup>, but instead of the addition that Varuṇa occasionally "shows slight traces of a similar conception of his nature" one might have expected the author to express himself more precisely and to write a few lines on Varuṇa's attitude towards the institution under discussion. Far be it from me to doubt that the greatness of the sacrifice is brought out by the doctrine of the primeval immolation of the Puruṣa by the gods, a sacrifice from which the stanzas of the Ṛgveda, the chants of the Sāmaveda, the metres and the formulae of the Yajurveda are held to have come into existence (R.V. 10, 90, 6; 9), but was a brief digression on the survival of, and influence exerted by, this doctrine and its adaptation to other divine figures completely out of place?

Does the paragraph devoted by Van der Leeuw<sup>5</sup> to the relation between man's rites and one Supreme Being — "some Power from which man can derive all others, including his own, a Power that as it were authorizes his rites but does not concern itself overmuch about him, nor disturbs him in his own fullness of power" — apply without modification worth mentioning to one (or more than one) of the great figures of the Vedic pantheon (cf. also BhGītā 4, 24)? And does the Veda confirm the author's opinion that man adopted the hypothesis of that Power, because he hesitated to draw the conclusion that his own potency might be absolute and might have subsisted from the very beginning? — but what about the oft quoted ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 5 "the sun would not rise, were he (the sacrificer) not to make that offering"? Or is the formulation preferred by Heiler<sup>6</sup>, quoting ŚB. 14, 3, 2, 1 "the sacrifice is the *ātman* of all beings and of all the gods", in all respects convincing?: viz. that it has been the very idea of the power of sacredness (Heiligkeitssmacht) which induced the Indians to believe that Prajāpati created the sacrifice and was the first sacrificer (cf. ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 1).

There can be no doubt that in attempting to survey the main text places<sup>7</sup> that can give us some information on the above problems and in a discussion of this information attention should first and foremost be paid to Prajāpati, the great creator god.

As is well known the usual verb to denote Prajāpati's creative acts is, in the brāhmaṇas, *ṣṛj-*<sup>8</sup> which, in the forms of the medium, literally means "to emit from oneself": TB. 1, 1, 10, 1; 1, 7, 1, 4 etc. "Prajāpati emitted (i.e. brought into existence) the creatures (offspring, living beings)" (*prajāpatiḥ prajā ṣṛjata*); 1, 1, 3, 11 "he created Agni (fire)"; 1, 5, 2, 4 "he created cattle"; 2, 1, 6, 4 "he created the deities". The process is obviously viewed as an exteriorization (or obtainment of independent existence) of (a) being(s) or object(s) that hitherto was (were), or might be supposed to be, within the creator, to form part of the totality that was his being or person. In a similar way Prajāpati is often briefly stated to have emitted from himself (produced, *ṣṛjata*) sacrificial worship (sacrifice, *yajña*). In many cases, however, this statement occurs at the beginning of a section and is followed by information on or an exposition of ensuing occurrences. See e.g. AiB. 7, 19, 1, where at the beginning of a discussion of the *rājasūya* the mention of the god's creative deed is followed by the statement that the brahminical order and nobility were produced also and by a reference to the next stage in the evolution described, the creation of two kinds of offspring, viz. those who eat and those who do not eat oblations. Other such instances are TS. 1, 6, 9, 1; 3, 3, 7, 1; TB. 1, 7, 1, 4; KB. 6, 15 (6, 10, 7) at the beginning of a section on the unbloody sacrifices (*haviryajñāḥ*); JB. 3, 274; ŚB. 13, 1, 1, 4.

Thus these references to the god's creations are aetiological narratives recounting the origin of definite sacrificial rites. In a long ritualistic explanation of the institution and some particulars of the *agnihotra* it is TB. 2, 1, 2, 1 ff. told that Prajāpati emitted from himself Agni and after him the other creatures. When Agni and these creatures went away and Prajāpati could not hold them back, he became hot and his sweat became clarified butter (*ghee*). At the instance of his own voice (*vāc*) he offered this oblation; from the first oblation he produced (*ṣṛjata*; notice that now also the same verb is used) man, from the second etc. the horse, the cow (bull, ox), the sheep, the goat (for these five sacrificial animals see ŚB. 6, 2, 1, 2). Thereupon Agni, becoming afraid, re-entered Prajāpati to be reborn (literally "born": *ajāyata*) for a share in the results of Prajāpati's endeavour that is (called) the *agnihotra*.

Occasionally Prajāpati's creative activity is attended with serious difficulties. When he had produced (emitted, *asṛjata*) the sacrifice, the demons (*rakṣāṃsi*) wished to destroy it, but by means of the deities whom he fashioned out of himself he succeeded in driving them away from all directions (TB. 1, 7, 1, 4 f.). When Prajāpati wished to produce the rites of full and new moon he beheld the *caturhotar* mantra (which is recited at these sacrifices, ĀpŚ. 4, 8, 7; TĀ. 3, 2<sup>9</sup>) and having recited it sacrificed on the *āhavanīya* fire; then he was able to produce the full and new moon ritual. But, being produced out of him, this ran away. He laid hold of it (*agrñāt*) with a *graha* (a vessel used for taking up soma, also the taking up or the libation); that is the origin of the term *graha*.

In a passage that forms part of a discussion of the sacrifices of full and new moon (TS. 1, 6, 9, 1 ff.) and to which there seems to be no parallel Prajāpati is said to have created sacrifices (in the plural). There follows a specification: the *agnihotra*, the *agniṣṭoma* etc. It is clear, however, that this enumeration and the passage in its entirety are inserted in order to argue these sacrifices two and two equivalent, so that the man who knowing thus performs the *agnihotra* obtains as much as by performing the (much longer and more expensive) *agniṣṭoma*, etc. The initial reference to Prajāpati's creative activity is no doubt mainly to lend more probability to the argument. This is also apparent from what follows: the sacrifice under discussion was in the beginning Parameṣṭhin's, who furnished Prajāpati with it with the result that the latter likewise reached the supreme goal: here Prajāpati obviously is the equal of Parameṣṭhin, Indra and other gods.

Not always, however, a rite is said to have been "emitted" by Prajāpati. Sometimes the association of the god with a ritual element is attributed to the fact that he had beheld<sup>10</sup> it — that is, that at a critical moment it had come before his (mental) eye — and had as the first introduced it. Thus when the gods were taking up portions of soma Prajāpati beheld the *aṃśugraha* — the first 'drawing' of soma (ĀpŚ. 12, 7, 17; 12, 8, 5) — took that portion of soma up and prospered with it (TS. 6, 6, 10, 1). The ritual particulars are here again said to be reflexions of this primeval event. In ŚB. 4, 1, 1, 2; 4, 6, 1, 1; 3; 11; 11, 5, 9, 1 the *aṃśugraha* is said to be Prajāpati, and, according to 4, 6, 1, 1, also the *ātman* (self, body, per-

son, identical with Prajāpati) of the sacrificer who is the sacrifice and who, when this cup of soma is taken up, is bodily born in yonder world. When, TB. 1, 6, 2, 2 ff. relates, the Maruts killed Prajāpati's creatures because they did not worship them, he beheld a definite offering and presented it in order to save his creatures (cf. the story told ŚB. 2, 5, 1, 12 f.). See, e.g., also AiB. 4, 27, 1; TB. 1, 1, 5, 1. — According to PB. 6, 3, 9 the god had emitted creatures; when however these did not recognize his authority he beheld (*apaśyat*) the *agniṣṭoma* and “took” (*āharat*), i.e. took the utensils, the sacrificial substance etc. and performed it. At 17, 10, 2, likewise in the second phase of a process of creation, he beheld the so-called unexpressed<sup>11</sup> morning service (of a soma sacrifice).

In the view of the author of AiB. 5, 32 Prajāpati, after having practised *tapas*<sup>12</sup> and produced (*asṛjata*) these worlds and thereupon created, in the same manner, the three presiding gods Agni, Vāyu and Āditya, the Vedas and the syllable *om*, extended (spread, *atanuta*, § 3) the sacrifice, “took it” and performed it; finally, he handed it over to the gods. — Or he is briefly stated to have emitted the (soma) sacrifice out of himself (*asṛjata*), e.g. TB. 1, 7, 1, 5; KB. 6, 15 (6, 10, 7); or to have emitted it, to have taken it and to have worshipped with it (ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 1)<sup>13</sup>.

As appears from some of the above places Prajāpati is, interestingly enough, also supposed to have used the rites which he had beheld or produced as a means of creating. Thus, for instance, also day and night through the instrumentality of the *atirātra* (PB. 4, 1, 4); living beings by means of the *vaiśvadeva* (TB. 1, 6, 2, 1; ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 1); according to MS. 1, 9, 3: 132, 7 he wished to “emit” creatures after having become a (the) sacrifice, thereupon he split up and made his thought the *sruc* (a large wooden ladle used in sacrificing) etc. MS. 4, 7, 4: 97, 11 *brahman*, which manifests itself in the rites, is considered the womb out of which Prajāpati created the living beings.

In spite of the translation “mouth of the sacrifice”, which is sometimes found<sup>14</sup>, one should render *yajñamukham* by “(regular) beginning of or introduction to sacrificial worship”. See e.g. PB. 4, 2, 18 (cf. 17 and the commentary); 6, 8, 1; 16, 5, 4; 8 (cf. JB. 2, 185 speaking of an introductory stanza (*pratipad*)); 18, 8, 1 (cf. 16, 1, 2; ĀpŚ. 10, 2, 3; TS. 7, 1, 1, 3 f.), 7 (cf. TB. 1, 8, 8, 1); 9; 10; 11; ŚB.

5, 2, 4, 17; GB. 2, 1, 11; 2, 3, 18 etc. Thus when Prajāpati is declared to be the *yajñamukham* (TS. 2, 6, 4, 3; 2, 6, 5, 2; 5, 1, 6, 4; 5, 2, 8, 7; TB. 1, 1, 9, 4; 1, 2, 1, 8; 3, 2, 9, 11; 3, 3, 6, 6), he is no doubt characterized as the one who (in an exemplary way) inaugurated sacrificial worship.

Prajāpati is not only the originator of the Vedic sacrificial ritual, he is also often briefly stated to be sacrificial worship (*yajña*). This is one of those statements that are no doubt to remind the audience of a well-known fact and to facilitate or abbreviate an argument or explanation: MS. 3, 6, 5 “Prajāpati (is the) *yajña*” (that is why one should offer with Prajāpati’s metre, the *anuṣṭubh*); KB. 10, 1 (10, 2, 11); ŚB. 1, 7, 4, 4 (where the gods cure Prajāpati who was hurt by Rudra’s arrow lest the sacrifice should not be remain damaged). In TĀ. 1, 23 it is argued that Prajāpati, after having created his self (as the universe) entered into it with his own self (i.e. himself). Sometimes the ‘identification’ creates the impression of being a sort of parenthesis: PB. 13, 11, 18 “two definite *sāmans* are the breasts of Prajāpati — Prajāpati is the *yajña* — by means of these two (*sāmans*) one ...”; TB. 3, 2, 7, 4 (by a definite rite one makes Prajāpati, the sacrifice, perfect). — Instances of the reverse order (“the sacrifice is Prajāpati”) occur, e.g. KB. 13, 1, 1 at the beginning of a section and followed by the statement that (as a consequence, or, as might be expected) “in it are all objects of desire, all continuance of life”; GB. 2, 2, 18. A very brief formulation is found, e.g., JB. 1, 256 (in connexion with definite stanzas and the structure of the sacrifice) where *agniṣṭoma* is, as an apposition, added to Prajāpati. The god is in a similar way ‘identified’<sup>15</sup> with other sacrifices: with the *pravargya* ŚB. 14, 1, 2, 18 (by means of a *yajus* formula one makes up Prajāpati’s defined form, by silent worship his undefined worship); with the *rājasūya* which is being performed “and whence these creatures have been produced” (5, 3, 5, 1).

As to the term ‘identity’ — remember that a simple predication “Prajāpati (is the) sacrifice” can, in our terminology, also mean “represents, corresponds to, is co-ordinated with” or express essential relationship, community of important features — statements of Prajāpati’s “identity” with the sacrifice are sometimes combined with references to definite features in his character. Thus TS. 5, 1, 8, 3 f. a repeated statement of ‘identity’ is followed by an

argument based on the god's being unlimited; one uses unlimited metres in order to reach Prajāpati.

The presumed 'identity' of Prajāpati and the sacrifice is also used as an important point in an argument for motivating or explaining a ritual detail: TS. 5, 1, 8, 3 "he concludes the (rite) with (a victim) for Prajāpati; Prajāpati is the sacrifice; verily he establishes (fixes) the sacrifice (gives it a firm foundation, *prati śthāpayati*) in the sacrifice". Here the god is a sort of intermediary between the victim and the 'fixation' of the sacrifice and he can play this part only because he is believed to be the sacrifice. TS. 7, 5, 7, 4 and KS. 33, 7: 33, 7 the same 'identification' intervenes between "they offer an animal to Prajāpati" and "in order to prevent the sacrifice from being abandoned". When Prajāpati had created offspring and thought himself empty, he satisfied himself with definite *āprī* stanzas<sup>16</sup> which he beheld; "in that there are these *āprī* stanzas (in the rite that is being performed), (and) Prajāpati is the sacrifice, one satisfies the sacrifice with them" (TS. 5, 1, 9, 3 f.). For other instances see TB. 3, 2, 7, 4; 3, 3, 7, 3. — The 'identity' of the creator god and the sacrifice is the factor that ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 22 dealing with the preparation of the consecration water (*rājasūya* ritual) determines the use of seventeen kinds of water, because Prajāpati is seventeenfold<sup>17</sup>. See also 5, 4, 5, 19.

The ritualists do not fail to explain how sacrificers can derive benefit from this 'identity'. The one who sacrifices to the Fathers wanders in their world and is liable to perish; by worshipping Prajāpati he comes back, that is to say he comes back "together with the sacrifice", because Prajāpati is the sacrifice, and he will not be liable to premature death, for Prajāpati "leads him upwards" (rescues him, TB. 1, 3, 10, 10). — In the explanation of the long soma sacrifice (*sattra*) of twelve years' duration, which is said to be Prajāpati's, the author of PB. 25, 6, 1 ff. observes that by means of this *sattra* the god was able to set the whole universe in motion. Those who follow his example acquire the same ability. For a *sattra* of a thousand years' duration of Prajāpati with the same effect see 25, 17, 1 ff.

Ts. 6, 6, 9, 2 the *adābhya* — an optional (alternative) libation of soma (see ĀpŚ. 12, 7, 17<sup>18</sup>) called the "undeceivable", because with it one can deceive one's enemy but not be deceived by him

(TS.) — is said to be Prajāpati's *tanūh* called the *atimokṣiṇī*, that is that inherent power or quality of his which is considered to have a concrete form or to constitute a 'body'<sup>19</sup> and which represents the idea, faculty or capability of escaping or liberating.

The construction of the great fireplace, of Prajāpati-Agni, is the culmination of a sacrificer's efforts. "After having built the great fireplace (*agnim cīvā*) Prajāpati became Agni", i.e. came to be 'identical' with, or to manifest himself in, the fireplace (ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 1)<sup>20</sup>. "The Puruṣa<sup>21</sup> that became Prajāpati is this very Agni (i.e. the fireplace) which is now to be built" (6, 1, 1, 5). Just as the primeval Person (Puruṣa) of RV. 10, 90, Prajāpati, identified with him, is sacrificed and dismembered, and this event which took place at that archetypal sacrifice represents the transition of the One who was the primeval Totality into the plurality of the phenomenal universe; that is, that sacrifice was the creation of the universe. Of this first creative act every sacrifice is a repetition. But in the ritual of the *agnicayana*, the construction of the great fireplace, the god, who is the sacrifice, is restored to a unity, his several forms and members are re-integrated and consolidated. That is to say, the fireplace 'symbolizes' the combining of the scattered and unco-ordinated elements of the phenomenal universe into one single organic structure<sup>22</sup>.

Yet, in spite of the 'identification' of Prajāpati and the sacrifice the latter is TS. 5, 7, 5, 4 one of the deities that enter into conversation with the former when he is engaged in building, as the first, the great fireplace (*agnicayana* ritual).

To the modern mind the successive occurrence of the statements "Prajāpati emitted the sacrifice" and "Prajāpati is the sacrifice" may seem curious. Yet in TB. 3, 2, 3, 1 the first statement refers to the mythical past, when a ritual accident took place the repetition of which should be avoided by the 'historical' performer of the rite that is referred to by the second equation. Instead of this equation an author may say that the sacrifice belongs to or is connected with Prajāpati, or rather that it is derived from him (3, 7, 1, 2 *prājāpatyo yajñah*), which is intelligible at first sight (see also 3, 7, 2, 1). Is there any difficulty in supposing a place such as PB. 7, 2, 1 to furnish us with the solution of our problem: "Prajāpati, having made himself (changed himself into) sacrificial worship (the *agniṣṭoma*, comm.)

gave himself to the gods’?: in this way the creator makes and is the sacrifice. But ŚB. 11, 1, 8, 2 f. tries to solve the difficulty otherwise: when the gods were going on offering to one another, Prajāpati gave himself, obviously as the sacrifice, to them so that it became theirs (also 5, 1, 1, 2)<sup>23</sup>. Having done so he emitted from himself that counterpart (image, likeness, symbol, *pratimā*<sup>24</sup>) of himself, viz. the sacrifice, “and that is why people say that the sacrifice is Prajāpati”. Notice that in 11, 1, 6, 13 there is a similar statement with regard to the year’s being Prajāpati’s *pratimā*.

In view of the following explanation of VS. 31, 16 = RV. 10, 90, 16, in which the words *yajñēna yajñām ayajanta* are taken to mean: “they (the gods) worshipped the sacrifice (i.e. Puruṣa, here Prajāpati) with the sacrifice (in which he was the victim)” — that means that Puruṣa-Prajāpati is at the same time object of worship and victim — ŚB. 10, 2, 2, 1 does not state that Prajāpati, going to heaven, was the first to gain merit as a result of the performance of sacrifices<sup>25</sup>, but that he was the only one fit for sacrifice (as a victim). Compare ŚB. 2, 2, 4, 10; 4, 5, 2, 10 (where *yajñīya* denotes a quality of sacrificial material) and ŚB. 10, 6, 5, 8: the consecrated victim, in its nature as Prajāpati, represents all the deities; the victim is expected to go to heaven (e.g. ĀpŚ. 17, 12, 10; 7, 16, 7).

The ‘identification’ of Prajāpati with the sacrificial substance — e.g., according to ŚBK. 5, 4, 1, 3 Soma is clearly (really, actually, *pratyakṣam*) Prajāpati — may also serve to argue that the one who performs a ritual act with regard to this substance exerts influence on Prajāpati. TB. 3, 8, 2, 3 “the *brahmaudana* (a definite mess of rice) is Prajāpati, melted butter (*ājyam*) is seed (*retas*)”; “thus, by dipping a rope into the butter of that mess one provides Prajāpati with seed”. Or to show how an officiant can ‘identify’ the patron with Prajāpati, viz. by means of the *aṁśugraha* and a *dakṣiṇā* consisting of twelve heifers, for “there are twelve months in the year and Prajāpati is the year as well as the *aṁśugraha*” (ŚB. 4, 6, 1, 11; cf. 12; see also 5, 4, 5, 20).

There are indeed various methods of deriving benefit from Prajāpati’s presence in the sacrificial substance and utensils. The person who entertains the desires enumerated at TS. 3, 2, 3, 3 f. (to become prosperous etc.) should gaze at<sup>26</sup> the offerings; Prajāpati, who is the sacrifice and is associated with the utensils (containing

the offerings, *pātriyah*), will be delighted and further that person's hopes.

The *anvāhārya* (the rice meant as a *dakṣiṇā* for the priests) is connected with him, because when he assigned the sacrifice to the gods, he left his mess unallotted and conferred it upon himself (TS. 1, 7, 3, 2). The two libations of clarified butter are 2, 6, 3, 1 for a similar reason Prajāpati's; in contrast to the other offerings which become worn out, they are fresh, because Prajāpati is of the gods the one who is not exhausted (*ayātayāmaḥ*). Compare ŚB. 12, 3, 3, 1 ff. where the unexhausted element of the sacrifice is said to consist of formulae numbering 17 syllables all told and consequently to represent the seventeenfold Prajāpati<sup>27</sup>.

TB. 1, 5, 4, 1 f. the thirteen utensils (*pātrāṇi*, cups, receptacles) used in sacrificing ("to bear the sacrifice") are said to have been fashioned by Prajāpati out of his expiration and inhalation, speech, faculties, limbs<sup>28</sup>. — The oblong shed on the sacrificial place called *sadas* is PB. 6, 4, 11 said to be Prajāpati's abdomen; the *droṇakalaśa*, a wooden bucket for the soma juice, his head (6, 5, 3; 6; at ŚB. 4, 4, 3, 4 it originally was Vṛtra's head; see also ŚB. 4, 3, 1, 6; 4, 5, 5, 11). The bunch of grass used in performing sacrifices (the *veda*) belongs to Prajāpati (TB. 3, 3, 2, 1).

Prajāpati is also 'identified' with ritual formulae. At TB. 2, 2, 3, 2; 5 he is said to be the formulae mentioned in TĀ. 3, 1-10, viz. the *caturhotar* etc.<sup>29</sup>. But in 2, 2, 8, 5 he is one of the gods who are co-ordinated with one of these formulae, Agni with the *pañcahotar*, Prajāpati with the *daśahotar* etc. In 2, 2, 9, 3; 2, 3, 1, 2 the *daśahotar* — which 2, 2, 1, 6 is 'identified' with the sacrifice — is said to be the same as Prajāpati. In 2, 2, 11, 1 the god beheld this formula and employed (recited) it (*prāyuṅkta*). But in 2, 3, 2, 3 he produced (*asṛjata*) this All (*idaṃ sarvam*) after having become the *śaddhotar*. In 2, 3, 5, 6 Prajāpati, Soma, Agni etc. figure, respectively, as *hotar* of the *daśa*-, *catur*-, *pañca-hotar* formulae. It may be recalled that these mantras are the *hotar*'s recitation (ŚB. 4, 6, 9, 18).

In AiB. 2, 18, 1 the metres, i.e. the metrical texts of the Veda — of which according to TS. 7, 1, 1, 4 ff.; PB. 6, 1, 6 ff. he was the creator — are said to be Prajāpati's limbs<sup>30</sup>, and since the one who worships with a sacrifice (on his own account, *yajate*) is Prajāpati, it is suitable or advantageous for him to recite the morning litany ac-

cording to the metres: it has been Prajāpati who as a *hotar* was the first to recite this litany (2, 15, 4), and according to AiB. 2, 17, 9 and Kauṣītaki the *prātaranuvāka* is Prajāpati (KB. 11, 7 (11, 8, 6); 25, 10 (25, 9, 8)). — Prajāpati is also associated with an individual metre, viz. the *anuṣṭubh* (TB. 3, 3, 2, 1); remember that ŚB. 10, 3, 1, 1; 4 ‘identifies’ it with (i.e. regards it as equivalent to the voice of Prajāpati), and 3, 1, 4, 21 with speech which is the sacrifice (which is Prajāpati)<sup>31</sup>. In JB. 1, 197 the god has the outward appearance of an *anuṣṭubh* (*prajāpatir ānuṣṭubhaḥ*), which is elsewhere (MS. 3, 6, 5) said to belong to him.

According to TB. 1, 5, 12, 5 Prajāpati ordered the seven metres to constitute his chariot by means of which he desired to “go along this way (*adhvānam*, used in ritual contexts to denote the way that conveys the sacrificer to the heavenly regions<sup>32</sup>)”: the *gāyatrī* and *jagatī* came to be the sides of the chariot, etc.; the one who knowing this performs a soma sacrifice and does likewise fares well.

Whereas the relation between the *bṛhat* and Prajāpati is at PB. 7, 6, 6 said to be like that between an eldest son and a father and this *sāman* is at 9 held to have arisen in this god, two other *sāmans* are 13, 11, 18 regarded as the breasts (*stanau*) of Prajāpati the sacrifice, by means of which one “milks” him (i.e. extracts what is desirable from him). Although this may to a certain extent be understood in a figurative sense, the presence of the god in the sacrificial rite, in which he manifests himself so to say phenomenally, could easily induce an author to ascribe this function to these melodies set to verses which ŚB. 10, 1, 1, 6 are stated to be Prajāpati’s vital fluid (*rasaḥ*) and 12, 8, 3, 23 the essence of all the Vedas. TS. 3, 3, 2 ‘identifies’ the *sāman* with Prajāpati and the *udgātar* (the officiant who has to chant the hymns of the Sāmaveda) with Bṛhaspati. These two gods are also found together 3, 4, 1: with their help one makes good a deficiency in the sacrifice, no doubt because the former is the sacrifice and the latter — the *udgātar* of the gods (PB. 6, 5, 5) — the lord of *bṛh* or *brahman*, i.e. the fundamental power that manifests itself (also) in the rites. A similar consideration may have led to the ‘identifications’ of TS. 3, 3, 2 (but cf. PB. 6, 4, 1; 7, 10, 16; JB. 1, 259 the *udgātar* is Prajāpati)<sup>33</sup>.

That the seventeenfold *stoma* and Prajāpati are ‘identical’ (PB. 19, 7, 6; 20, 4, 2) is intelligible, because 17 is the god’s number. For

the same reason it is believed that the one who performs the *vājapeya* which is characterized by this number<sup>34</sup> — *inter alia*, 17 *stotras* of 17 stanzas each —, becomes equal to Prajāpati (18, 6, 4).

Prajāpati is also said to have assigned the several sacrifices (TS. 1, 7, 3, 2; 6, 6, 11, 1; TB. 1, 3, 2, 5; ŚB. 13, 2, 1, 1) or the sacrificial ritual as well as the metres (metrical texts, AiB. 3, 13, 1) to the gods. See also JB. 1, 321; 3, 274 “Prajāpati emitted the sacrifice out of himself and presented it to the gods”. At ŚB. 11, 5, 8, 6 he gives the gods, at their request, instruction in a ritual procedure.

TS. 6, 6, 11, 1 explains the origin of the *ṣoḍaśin* — a soma sacrifice characterized by an additional sixteenth *stotra* and *śastra* — as follows: “Prajāpati assigned the sacrifices to the gods; he thought himself emptied; he pressed over himself the psychical and physical power of the sacrifices in 16 ways; that became the *ṣoḍaśin*...”. — When Prajāpati assigned<sup>35</sup> the sacrifices to the gods he put away (concealed) their dear forms; “that became the *atigrāhyas* (TS. 6, 6, 8, 2), i.e. the extra libations for Agni, Indra and Sūrya (cf. ŚB. 4, 5, 4, 2<sup>36</sup>). — In the mythical narrative told JB. 2, 221 the god places a *vrātyastoma* at the disposal of the *vrātyas* (Aryans of a manner of life of their own and performing rites that deviated from the usual rules<sup>37</sup>) who “took it, worshipped with it and became acquainted with (the way to) the heavenly region”.

The traditions on the relations between the god and the horse sacrifice (which is the sacrificer, ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 1), are varied and somewhat confusing. When, according to ŚB. 13, 2, 1, 1, Prajāpati assigned the other sacrifices to the other gods he reserved the *aśvamedha* (the king of sacrifices, 13, 2, 2, 1) for himself. He was indeed the first to perform it (13, 1, 7, 1). He had beheld it, when he longed for the realization of all his ambitions (13, 4, 1, 1)<sup>38</sup>. According to TB. 3, 9, 22, 1, however, the gods, being desirous to perform a sacrifice, seized their father Prajāpati who had become an animal (fit for sacrifice, *paśu*) (in order to kill him as a victim). Prajāpati then became a horse. Therefore the horse is of the victims that are offered to him the one that most resembles him. In 3, 9, 1, 1 and 3, 9, 13, 1 (see also ŚB. 13, 1, 4, 1) the same work had informed us that the *aśvamedha* is one of Prajāpati's creations. In TB. 3, 8, 6, 3 he had been described as establishing (the completion of) the

*aśvamedha* upon the *stokyā* oblations (consisting of the drops that are falling from the body of the horse when it has been sprinkled): cf. ŚB. 13, 1, 3, 1 f. “when he offers the *stokīyās* he offers that (horse) as a complete offering”; see, e.g., ŚB. 1, 1, 4, 3; 1, 3, 3, 16 ff.<sup>39</sup>. Elsewhere, however, the *aśvamedha* and Prajāpati are explicitly ‘identified’: ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 13; 14; 13, 4, 1, 15 (cf. also 13, 4, 4, 11). The man who performs this important rite “makes Prajāpati complete (*sarva*), and he (himself) becomes complete” (13, 3, 1, 1).

Prajāpati is also the first sacrificer (cf. ŚB. 6, 6, 3, 1). In this function he makes his appearance in a variety of circumstances: TS. 3, 4, 3, 1 “he beheld this (offering) to Agni ..., offered (*niravapat*) it, and thereby redeemed this (victim) from Agni” (cf. 2). ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 22 declares that a definite libation (*āhuti*) is identical with that which Prajāpati offered (poured, *ajuhot*) in the beginning. Men as well as gods perform the rites which he introduced (6, 3, 1, 18; see also 2, 3, 1, 22). At TS. 1, 6, 8, 4 he is said to have executed the sacrifice mentally. In AiB. 2, 15, 4 he recites the morning litany as a *hotar* (for his *hotar* function see also 6, 2, 3). ŚB. 6, 2, 1, 7 he performs the animal sacrifice (cf. 13; 39; 6, 2, 2, 38; 7, 5, 2, 4; 28; 11, 8, 3, 5); AiB. 4, 25, 1 the *dvādaśāha* (cf. 4, 27, 1); JB. 1, 3 a soma ceremony of a thousand years; 1, 37 an *agnihotra*; TB. 3, 8, 10, 1 an *aśvamedha*; see also 3, 8, 18, 6; AVP. 13, 14, 16; MS. 1, 8, 1: 115, 2; TB. 2, 1, 2, 1 ff.; ŚB. 2, 2, 4, 6; GB. 1, 2, 18; 1, 2, 24. By means of the *ekatrika* rite, by which one becomes distinguished (cf. JB. 2, 127), Prajāpati came to appear above these worlds (*udabhinat*, i.e. like a flower that is coming out) (PB. 16, 16, 2). The performance of another rite enabled him to repel old age (25, 17, 3) and to prosper in all respects (4).

Sometimes Prajāpati is described as offering with a view to discharging his creative duty: TS. 3, 5, 7, 3 he poured an oblation (*ajuhot*); where the oblation found a firm foundation, there he produced (*asrjata*) living beings. Being desirous of offspring he performed the *dākṣāyaṇa* ritual in order to become prosperous, to abound in descendants and cattle etc. (ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 1); see also 2, 5, 1, 17; 22; 2, 5, 2, 1; 7; 2, 6, 3, 4). TB. 3, 1, 5, 3 informs us that he also offered to himself (viz. a sacrificial pap to Prajāpati), in order to obtain offspring.

When the gods and the *asuras* were in conflict, Indra made Prajāpati sacrifice (*ayājāyat*) with the ceremony for producing unanimity (TS. 2, 2, 11, 5). See also 7, 2, 10, 1. TB. 2, 12, 4, 2 ff. narrates the story of Prajāpati's consenting to the proposal of Tapas (Asceticism), Śraddhā (Faith) etc. to sacrifice (*yajasva*) to him so that his asceticism, faith etc. would be effectual and he (P.) would find the heavenly world. When the heavenly world was hiding itself from the gods, Prajāpati, at their request, succeeded in finding it (3, 12, 2, 1; see also 2 ff.). By means of a sacrifice he delivered the creatures from Varuṇa's noose (ŚB. 2, 5, 3, 1; 2, 6, 3, 4), healed them (2, 5, 2, 3). By a definite ritual technique (the use of *karīra* fruits) he made the creatures happy (ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 11). See also ŚB. 4, 1, 3, 14.

Quite intelligibly Prajāpati's name is often associated with the piling of the great fireplace (*agnicayana*)<sup>40</sup>; TS. 5, 2, 6, 5; 5, 3, 10, 4; 5, 5, 2, 3; 5, 6, 6, 1; 5, 6, 10, 1; 5, 7, 5, 3; 5, 7, 6, 6 (desirous of supremacy, he placed the fire); cf. also 5, 2, 8, 1; 5, 3, 2, 2; 5, 3, 7, 4; 5, 7, 1, 2. — That Prajāpati's sacrificing was not regarded as something uncommon appears also from stories such as GB. 2, 3, 12, where Death (Mr̥tyu) is described as marching forth against him, when he was performing a sacrifice. See also AiB. 6, 32, 1; JB. 2, 69 f.

So it is not surprising that, according to the ritualistic theory advanced in the brāhmaṇas, the sacrificer who by imitating Prajāpati in his ritual methods and devices endeavours to rise in the world or to transgress the limitations of a normal mundane existence, was 'identified' with the creator god: AiB. 2, 18, 2; see also ŚB. 4, 6, 1, 5; 7; 11; 12.

Mention should also be made of those brāhmaṇa passages in which Prajāpati's creation is described as being imperfect as long as he has not completed it by some ritual means. PB. 8, 8, 14 his creatures, having been produced, suffered hunger; by means of the *saubhara* (a *sāman*) (and especially by its finale) *ūrj* ('invigorating food') he gave them food'; 6, 7, 19; GB. 2, 3, 9 he made them breathe by means of the sacrificial exclamation *hīm* when, being created, they were fainting.

From the mythical narrative told ŚB. 2, 2, 4, 1 ff. it appears that Prajāpati was supposed to be able in case of need to obtain an offer-

ing in his own self by means of which he could satisfy one of his creatures, viz. Agni who was about to devour him (cf. TB. 1, 1, 3, 11; 1, 1, 5, 7).

By performing the sacrifice which is Prajāpati and from which creatures have come into existence one repeats and revives the god's creative activity: "to this day they are born after (this sacrifice)" (ŚB. 4, 2, 4, 16; 4, 5, 5, 1). In 4, 5, 6, 1; 4, 5, 7, 1; 5, 2, 2, 18; 5, 1, 4, 1; 5, 3, 3, 15; 5, 3, 5, 1; 5, 4, 4, 24. Prajāpati is, indeed, explicitly said to be the sacrifice which is here being performed. "He who is desirous of offspring worships with that oblation and thereby makes himself that sacrifice, (which is) Prajāpati, the actually existent (*bhūtam*, or, "which has become Prajāpati"?)" (ŚB. 2, 5, 1, 7).

Those who undertake a *mahāvṛata* ceremony actually offer to Prajāpati; they become this deity and attain to fellowship and co-existence with him (ŚB. 12, 1, 3, 21). It should however be noticed that this paragraph is only one of a long series of similar and parallel sections in which a similar prospect is held out to those who perform other rites. Nevertheless, its very place at the end of the series (before the concluding *atirātra*, it is true) is in harmony with the importance attached to this rite of which the creator god had come to the central figure<sup>41</sup>.

As is well known, the brāhmaṇas often emphasize the indispensability of knowledge of the meaning and origin of the rite which one is about to perform: only then the performance will be successful. "He who knows the seventeenfold Prajāpati as connected with sacrificial worship (*yajñam anvāyattam*) is firmly established through the sacrifice (*prati yajñena tiṣṭhati*), (and) is not deprived of (*bhramśate*) the sacrifice" (TS. 1, 6, 11, 1; cf. ŚB. 12, 3, 3, 1 ff.).

The fact should not be suppressed that, just like other gods, Prajāpati occasionally receives a victim. On the so-called *caturviṃśa* day (soma ritual) the victim of the animal sacrifice may, according to KB. 19, 2 (19, 1, 9 ff.) and ŚŚ. 9, 23, 1, be destined for this god (alternatively for Vāyu or Agni Kāma). Or the god is, again like other gods, approached reverentially and propitiated by a libation and willing to deliver a man from the consequences of a ritual transgression (TB. 2, 1, 9, 3), cf. also TB. 2, 1, 10, 3; ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 1.

The authors of the brāhmaṇas often express themselves by means of a formal statement of an argument which reminds us of a syllogism<sup>42</sup>. Thus, after enjoining the man who “is desirous of the sacrifice” to recite 360 stanzas — “so great is the year” — AiB. 2, 17, 2 f. states that Prajāpati is the year (cf., e.g., ŚB. 11, 1, 1, 1) and the sacrifice is Prajāpati to conclude this section with the anticipation of the condescension of the sacrifice to the man who knowing this recites 360 (stanzas<sup>43</sup>). Here the double identification of the creator god is made a means of influencing the result of the sacrifice through a ritual act characterized by a definite number: 360, year, Prajāpati, sacrifice, condescension<sup>44</sup>. Hence also the reference to the god’s ‘being’ the year in similar cases, such as ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 2: one offers 12 ‘obtainments’ (*āpti*) — “there are 12 months in the year” —, Prajāpati is the year, the sacrifice is Prajāpati; he makes his own whatever obtainment there is. Also ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 4 (with 6 formulae called ‘successes’ (*kṛpti*) corresponding to the seasons).

Many ‘syllogisms’ are characterized by the occurrence of two equations of Prajāpati, the first with a concept or qualification derived from what precedes, the second with that which in ritual practice should be performed, influenced, or brought about; ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 13 (dealing with the preparations for the sacrifices of full and new moon) after quoting VS. 1, 6, which contains the pronoun “who?” (*kaḥ*) (which, whilst referring to (an) undefined or unspecified person(s) (*anirukta*) is considered to stand for Prajāpati), reads as follows: “for Prajāpati is *anirukta*; Prajāpati is the sacrifice; hence he thereby gets ready for the performance, Prajāpati, the sacrifice”. Similarly, 1, 5, 2, 17; 4, 1, 1, 15; 16; 5, 1, 2, 11; 12; 5, 4, 5, 20; 23; 13, 2, 2, 13 (cf. also 14); 13, 3, 6, 7; 14, 3, 2, 16; AiB. 2, 17, 9. In ŚB. 4, 3, 1, 6 the second equation (“Prajāpati is the year”) seems to have been omitted. — Elsewhere the conclusion of the ‘syllogism’ is somewhat different: AiB. 6, 19, 7 one “obtains” (i.e. derives benefit from) the year, Prajāpati and the sacrifice; one is every day firmly established in these three.

A brief equation of this type may, however, occur also as part of what may be called a progressive or concatenated argument: JB. 1, 135 “in chanting the *prastāva* one pronounces twelve syllables; the year consists of twelve months; Prajāpati, the sacrifice, is the year;

through that he (the person concerned) attains (identifies himself with and derives all benefits from) the year, i.e. with Prajāpati the sacrifice”.

At the end of a ritual discussion the author of TB. 1, 3, 4, 5, after discharging a ritual function connected with Sarasvatī “who is speech (*vāc*)” and stating that speech is the best of the vital functions (*prāṇāh*), continues: “then he establishes the sacrifice firmly into Prajāpati, for speech is Prajāpati”. In view of the ‘identity’ of Prajāpati and the sacrifice this means: “he establishes the sacrifice in its proper place”. See also 3, 7, 2, 1 “if (the *adhvaryu*) should pour (an offering of milk) out in a place that is not its proper abode or resort (*āyatana*<sup>45</sup>), (the patron) would be without a proper abode. (Therefore,) he should with the Prajāpati stanza (cf. ĀpŚ. 9, 2, 4) pour it out on an ant-hill. The ant-hill belongs to Prajāpati (cf. TS. 5, 1, 2, 5). Prajāpati is the sacrifice. (Consequently,) he establishes the sacrifice firmly into Prajāpati”.

Elsewhere a simple juxtaposition of two predications suffices to make the reader draw a conclusion or gain an insight into a ritual truth. At the end of a discussion of the problem as to how many stanzas should be recited in the morning litany KB. 11, 7 (11, 8, 5 ff.), observing that “this litany is Prajāpati” and “Prajāpati is immeasurable, (unlimited)”, arrives at the conclusion “who ought to measure it?”; the injunction “one should recite an immeasurable number of stanzas” is omitted. — Some other instances are found KB. 10, 1 (10, 2, 10 ff.); TB. 3, 2, 7, 4 (parallelism); 3, 7, 1, 2; 3, 8, 23, 1; 3, 9, 18, 2. In more complicated arguments three successive equations may be required: KB. 26, 3; cf. also ŚB. 6, 4, 1, 6.

The conjoint application of two pieces of information on Prajāpati’s nature may enable an officiant to derive special benefit from a definite ritual act: by pronouncing the formula “Forward your (re-)creative powers (*vājāh*)” one grasps the sacrifice as Prajāpati, because the formula is, like this god, *anirukta* (i.e. it does not contain an indication of its deity) and Prajāpati is the sacrifice (TS. 2, 5, 7, 2 f.).

Some argumentations are complicated and require close reading. What has the patron of the sacrifice who is being consecrated gained before he breaks silence when the sun has set? (ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 4). He has been consecrated during the day and reached the night; day

and night produce the year; Prajāpati is the year as well as the sacrifice (in the text these two equations precede); the patron has gained the whole extent of the sacrifice.

So the relation between the creator god on the one hand and the sacrifice and ritual elements on the other are, even if we confine our comment and remarks to this great figure, much more varied and complicated than might appear from the brief passages devoted to this subject by Van der Leeuw and Heiler. In the case of the Vedic Prajāpati creation is a process of emission and exteriorization of some being or object that formed part of, or was hidden in, the creator himself, yet does not become completely independent of him, because Prajāpati, being the Totality (*sarvam*), embraces his creatures (cf. e.g. ŚB. 10, 4, 2, 2; 27; 31)<sup>46</sup>. The creator god is 'identical' with, that is immanent, inherent in, his creation, which includes the sacrifices and ritual elements he has emitted<sup>47</sup>, although his association with, e.g., the horse sacrifice is described as, so to say, closer and more pronounced than his inherence in other rites<sup>48</sup>. This doctrine of the 'identity' of god and sacrifice helps the authors to explain various ritual details. As the sacrificer's *ātman* is 'identical' with Prajāpati he participates in the identity of god and sacrifice. Since the divine origin and authenticity of the rites should be above suspicion the authorities insert on every occasion mythical narratives in which these origins etc. are set forth and explained. In these aetiological myths, usually followed by the statement that the sacrificer or officiant who knows and acts as the creator did will be successful and realize his ambitions, man's inability to perform effective rites<sup>49</sup> otherwise is implicit, not stated expressly. Man feels himself to be able to exercise supernormal power by means of rites, but only, if he knows exactly how to do it and why to do it in the manner prescribed by the authorities and when he is fully convinced that the rite has been established and authorized by its originator.

However, Prajāpati is also believed to have created sacrificial rites by 'beholding' them or by practising *tapas*, methods which he has in common with other figures, divine, semi-divine, or human. Moreover, whereas a sacrifice or ritual element is not infrequently one of his creations produced serially, he uses them on the other hand also as a means of creating other beings, things or

phenomena. In ritual praxis this means that those who are, for instance, desirous of offspring, should realize their identity with him, imitate him and perform the sacrifice by means of which he succeeded in creating offspring. This doctrine gave also occasion for the conviction that certain special properties of ritual elements must be ascribed to special relations with Prajāpati or to the participation in his nature and essence. Another consequence was the belief that the performance of a rite may enable the performer to exert influence on Prajāpati (to strengthen him, to “make him complete”) and on the personal condition of the sacrificer. Every increase of sacred power brought about by sacrificing — fundamentally meant to establish man and his world in the sacred order — is ultimately beneficial to the sacrificer.

Prajāpati is, however, not only the first sacrificer believed to have performed a considerable number of rites that produced various results, among them the creation of living beings, he is also stated to have assigned the several sacrifices and ritual elements to the gods<sup>50</sup>, who using them contribute to the development of an orderly universe and civilization. Yet this does not prevent the authorities from putting, in other passages, Prajāpati on a par with other gods and from worshipping him with a victim or oblations. And, as far as his associations with ritual elements are concerned, although, to mention only this, all the metres are regarded as his limbs he is especially associated with the *anuṣṭubh* in the same manner as other gods are more closely connected with other metres.

In the second part of this article it will appear that the relations between a god and the ritual are, in Vedic India, still more varied and complicated, if we extend our examinations to a somewhat wider circle of great gods said to maintain more or less close relations with the sacrificial ritual. One should, also with regard to the problem under consideration, bear in mind that the polytheism of the Veda can neither be adequately viewed, with Van der Leeuw, in the light of some (single and impersonal) Power in the background, nor be completely or sufficiently described, with Heiler, by means of monotheistic terminology.

Proceeding now to make some observations on the relation between other gods and the sacrifice it must first and foremost be noticed that these, Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Agni, Indra, do not, in the rele-

vant passages, belie their own nature. That is to say, whenever they play a part or perform a function in connexion with sacrificial worship, or are made or believed to intervene in the performance of a sacrifice or to bring about a change in the condition of the sacrificer, they are recognizable as Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Agni, Indra and the context in which they make their appearance is not out of tune with what we may expect to find when an author comes to speak of them. That means that, in spite of unavoidable and self-evident similarity in point of generalities and argumentation, the deeds, beliefs and other elements characterizing the relations between these gods and the sacrifice are, generally speaking, not only in each case in some interesting respects different, but also different from those features which are obvious and characteristic when an author deals with Prajāpati.

Since Varuṇa is the god of the waters, is in the water and in the sea (TS. 3, 4, 5, 1; 6, 6, 3, 4; 7, 5, 23, 2; TB. 1, 6, 5, 6; AiĀ. 2, 1, 7 etc.), it is quite intelligible that he is also in the water of the consecration (TS. 1, 8, 12, 1; MS. 2, 6, 8: 68, 16; VS. 10, 7) and in the water of the final bath (TS. 6, 6, 3, 1). Nor is it incomprehensible that the one who takes the final bath should be believed to become Varuṇa (KB. 18, 9 (18, 6, 10) “he, having entered the water, becomes Varuṇa”). Now, the waters, which in the beginning were the only thing existing (TS. 5, 6, 4, 2; ŚB. 11, 6, 1 etc.), are, no doubt for that reason, believed to be the foundation of “these worlds” (ŚB. 6, 7, 1, 17), and that is also why they are ‘identified’ with the *dharma*, the principle of the universal stability, support and maintenance, the established order, regularity, norm etc.<sup>51</sup> (11, 1, 6, 24); as such the waters are closely related to “reality” (*satyam*, 7, 4, 1, 6<sup>52</sup>; cf. also AiB. 3, 6, 4). So Varuṇa is also the lord of *dharma* (TS. 1, 8, 10, 1; MS. 2, 6, 6: 67, 9; ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 9; cf. TB. 1, 7, 4, 2; 3, 11, 4, 1) and the guardian of *ṛta*, the universal norm, order and true reality, the seat of which is (in) the waters (Naighaṇṭuka 1, 12), and the god who maintains the observances or fixed rules of conduct (*dhṛtavrata*)<sup>53</sup>. That is why order and exactitude in performing rites concern Varuṇa — cf. MS. 1, 10, 11: 151, 3 the sacrifice (*yajña*) is *ṛta* and *satyam* — no less than what we would call violations of moral rules such as adultery (ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 20) or, generally speaking, transgression of *ṛta* (TB. 1, 7, 2, 6). And just as he punishes

breakers of laws or moral rules and binds them with his nooses (e.g. MS. 2, 3, 3; KB. 5, 3, 3; ŚB. 5, 2, 4, 2), so that people try to guard against his anger and punishment by satisfying him or getting rid of him by means of a sacrifice (*avayajate*, cf. TB. 1, 6, 5, 5 f.<sup>54</sup> — and this detail indeed reminds us of a sacrificer's reaction to Rudra's malevolence and destructiveness — he is often said to punish the man who commits a ritual mistake (e.g. TB. 1, 4, 4, 3 “Varuṇa takes away the sacrifice of him upon the fire of whom the sun sets before it has been taken (to the *āhavanīya*)”); PB. 24, 18, 2 where he curses the transgressors; cf. ŚB. 4, 4, 5, 14). Varuṇa is often described as the god who takes the ill-offered: TS. 6, 6, 7, 3 “Mitra appropriates the well-performed part of the sacrifice, Varuṇa the ill-performed (which, according to ŚB. 4, 5, 1, 7 he makes well-offered for the sacrificer when he is duly propitiated)”<sup>55</sup> (see also MS. 4, 8, 6: 114, 6; TB. 1, 2, 5, 3; AiB. 7, 5, 4; PB. 13, 2, 4; 15, 1, 3; 15, 2, 4; 15, 7, 7; JB. 2, 230). The same apparent ambiguity is characteristic of his connexions with the soma with which he is more than once mentioned in the same passage (e.g. ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 5 where he obtains it, and the sacrificer is said to obtain it in like manner; TS. 6, 1, 11, 1; cf. 5; ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 25: when the soma has been bought it belongs to him or is of his nature; at TS. 1, 2, 10, 2 Soma is addressed as follows: “Thou art Varuṇa *dhṛtavrata* (see above); thou art of Varuṇa”; cf. MS. 1, 2, 6 etc.; AiB. 8, 4, 10 together with Mitra he restores the soma, that had been licked by an *asura* woman, to its state of purity).

Varuṇa is sometimes described as engaging in sacrificial rites: ŚB. 2, 2, 3, 1 “being desirous of kingship Varuṇa established this (fire)” (*punarādheya* ritual); at TS. 1, 5, 2, 5 his name occurs in a chapter on the same occasion; at a certain moment Agni, the great fireplace, being completed is Varuṇa (ŚB. 9, 4, 2, 15, with an explanation in 16); “the *rājasūya* is Varuṇa's consecration” (ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 2; see JB. 3, 152; TS. 1, 8, 10, 2); for Varuṇa and the *dikṣā* see TB. 3, 7, 7, 6; and the *dakṣiṇā* PB. 1, 8, 2 ff.; and the *sāman* 13, 9, 23. Occasionally Varuṇa is ‘identified’ with the year, but not in the same way as Prajāpati (ŚB. 4, 1, 4, 10 after quoting a formula containing the words *ṛta* and *āyur* “duration of life”: “duration of life is Varuṇa, since Varuṇa is the year, and duration of life is the year”; Mitra and *ṛta* being *brahman*). Varuṇa is not infrequently associated

with the horse<sup>56</sup> (TS. 2, 3, 12, 1<sup>57</sup>; 4, 6, 7, 2 where the victim of the *aśvamedha* is said to appear like Varuṇa; TB. 2, 2, 5, 2; 3, 8, 4, 1 “whoever seeks to slay the horse, Varuṇa hurts him”, *aśvamedha*). Notice the difference with the part played in this respect by Prajāpati. ŚB. 2, 6, 4, 8 the sacrificer who performs the *varuṇapraghāsa* ritual is stated to become Varuṇa.

The constant ‘identification’ of Viṣṇu with the sacrifice may be taken to show that this god must have been a figure of considerable notability or have represented an important idea before he was declared to be this great and powerful institution. Among those places which are worthy to be specially mentioned are ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 13; 1, 4, 5, 2; 3; 1, 7, 4, 20; 1, 9, 3, 9; 3, 6, 3, 3 where Viṣṇu is at the same time said to have, by striding (in different directions), obtained for the gods the power or ability called *vikrānti* which is an essential feature in his character, his striding everywhere or all-pervading power<sup>58</sup>: when (ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 13) the *adhvaryu* ascends a cart he says, “let Viṣṇu mount thee”, “for”, the author explains, “Viṣṇu is the sacrifice, by striding ...” (etc., see above); 1, 9, 3, 9; see also ŚB. 12, 4, 1, 4; 5: after a quotation from RV. 1, 22, 17 “here Viṣṇu strode” and followed by the statement “by the sacrifice we (he) thus continue(s) the sacrifice”.

The brāhmaṇas discuss numerous consequences of this ‘identity’ and its application in actual practice. When, for instance, one offers to Viṣṇu, “one visibly obtains the sacrifice and makes it one’s own” (ŚB. 5, 4, 5, 18); one propitiates the sacrifice by addressing it as Viṣṇu (1, 4, 5, 2) and calls the place where it is performed the abode of Viṣṇu (3; TB. 3, 3, 7, 7); by muttering a formula addressed to this god one obtains a hold on the sacrifice (ŚB. 1, 7, 4, 20; cf. 4, 5, 1, 16); by sacrificing to him one upholds the sacrifice (13, 1, 8, 8) or one establishes oneself in it (13, 2, 2, 9); when one has no firm foundation one presents an offering to Viṣṇu and so takes hold of the sacrifice with a view to obtaining a foundation (TB. 1, 2, 5, 1), or to establishing oneself on the sacrifice (1, 8, 1, 2; 3, 1, 6, 7) or one mutters a Viṣṇu formula in order to make the sacrifice firm (TB. 3, 3, 6, 5; 11; cf. TS. 5, 6, 5, 2); he to whom the sacrifice does not come should offer a dwarf (animal) (which is Viṣṇu’s own share)<sup>59</sup> to Viṣṇu (TS. 2, 1, 8, 3; cf. 2, 2, 9, 3; by means of the formula “acceptable to Viṣṇu” one makes the cow with which the

soma is bought acceptable to the sacrifice (TS. 6, 1, 7, 3); in a similar way one drives away the demons from the sacrifice (6, 2, 9, 2); when the officiants are marching towards the north for the performance of the *bahiṣpavamāna stotra* (soma sacrifice) they “make the place of the sacrifice” and the sacrifice itself by addressing Viṣṇu (3, 1, 10, 3); see also TS. 2, 2, 9, 1; 3, 2, 6, 3; 3, 5, 1, 4; 5, 2, 8, 7; 5, 5, 1, 4; 6, 1, 4, 3; 6, 6, 7, 3; MS. 1, 4, 14: 63, 14; AiB. 1, 15, 4; BhŚ. 10, 21, 7; 10; ĀpŚ. 10, 30, 8; 13; TB. 1, 6, 1, 6; 3, 2, 3, 12; 3, 8, 11, 2; ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 16; 4, 5, 7, 7; JB. 2, 68; PB. 9, 7, 8; 13, 3, 2; 13, 5, 5. For the sacrifice assuming the form of Viṣṇu see 6, 2, 4, 2. For “Viṣṇu, the sacrifice (apposition)” see TB. 3, 3, 7, 6.

Sometimes it is Viṣṇu’s manifestation as Śipiviṣṭa — a name of uncertain meaning and etymology<sup>60</sup> — which is explicitly ‘identified’ with the sacrifice. It is however worth noticing that this is especially the case when mention is made of some soma that is left over or of a redundancy. “If during the afternoon service soma is left over one should address stanzas to Viṣṇu Śipiviṣṭa, who is the sacrifice, so that one becomes firmly established in the sacrifice” (PB. 9, 7, 9 f.; BŚ. 14, 25: 197, 8; ĀpŚ. 14, 18, 14; ŚŚ. 13, 9, 2<sup>61</sup>); TS. 3, 4, 1, 4 declares this figure to be the redundancy (*yad atiricyate*) of the sacrifice as well as the abundance and prosperity of cattle (also as sacrificial animals); 7, 5, 5, 2. Another explanation occurs TS. 2, 5, 5, 2; TB. 1, 3, 8, 5 “Viṣṇu is the sacrifice and *śipi* cattle (sacrificial animals), one is firmly established on the sacrifice and cattle”<sup>62</sup>. See also ŚB. 11, 1, 4, 4.

When the sacrificial stake (*yūpa*), which is a manifestation of the *axis mundi*<sup>63</sup> and belongs to this god (ŚB. 3, 6, 4, 9), is set up one offers with a Viṣṇu stanza (3, 6, 4, 1f.). — At AiB. 1, 1, 5 Agni and Viṣṇu are said to be the two terminal forms (*antye tanvau*) of the sacrifice; that means that the former is the lower, the latter the upper end (ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 1; 5, 2, 3, 6; cf. KB. 7, 1, 7). For a certain (and hardly relevant) connexion with the metres see TS. 5, 2, 1, 1; ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 12.

However, Viṣṇu is not only ‘identical’ with the sacrifice, he is also its guardian and protector (TS. 1, 1, 3 n; 1, 1, 11 s t; ŚB. 1, 3, 4, 16; 4, 2, 2, 10); ŚB. 4, 3, 8, 5; VS. 7, 20 he is the protector of the soma that is being offered and VS. 1, 4 of the oblations. In contrast to Varuṇa (see also TS. 6, 6, 7, 3; ŚB. 4, 5, 1, 7 quoted above) he

watches or guards that of the sacrifice which is ill offered (AiB. 3, 38, 3; 7, 5, 4, dealing with expiations), no doubt to prevent it from causing misfortune or calamity (cf. also 3, 38, 4)<sup>64</sup>. In AiB. 1, 4, 10 Agni (see above) and Viṣṇu are the guardians of the consecration of the gods and the lords (i.e. those who dispose) of the consecration (*dīkṣā*). Before the usual 'identification' of god and sacrificer it reads TS. 1, 7, 4, 4 "May I attain happiness and welfare by sacrificial worship of Viṣṇu, a firm foundation (which is considered an advantage and a cause of welfare<sup>65</sup>) by the sacrifice". Just as one identifies oneself with Viṣṇu by taking his strides (TS. 1, 7, 5, 4; 5, 2, 1, 1; TB. 1, 7, 9, 2) one becomes Viṣṇu and attains to fellowship and co-existence with him by sacrificing to him (ŚB. 12, 1, 3, 4). According to ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 17 the sacrificer who is consecrated becomes Viṣṇu.

In the first part of this article it has been shown that Prajāpati is the creator of the sacrifice and the originator of sacrificial worship, which is believed to be or to remain 'identical' with the god who had emitted it out of himself; that he is stated to be not only the *ya-jña* in general but also individual sacrificial rites; and that he is especially connected and 'identified' with the ceremony and 'symbolism' of the construction of the great fireplace. In contradistinction to the great creator god Viṣṇu is in a large number of cases simply said to be the sacrifice, but not to have had anything to do with its creation. Moreover, this 'identification' of Viṣṇu with the sacrifice is of great practical importance because of the possibilities it contains and the consequences that result from it. But how had it become such an important and oft mentioned doctrine? Why was it so readily accepted as an indisputable fact?

As already observed, the validity of an 'identification' is in the brāhmaṇas very often demonstrated by means of a 'syllogism'. In this case however explicit 'syllogisms' in which both Viṣṇu and the sacrifice are 'identified' with the same third concept or entity do not seem to have been urgently required. This should not however prevent us from trying to solve the problem by searching for something like a common 'identification' with a third concept, although the possibility of several factors contributing to the same result should by no means be ruled out. Viṣṇu is on the one hand closely connected with the *axis mundi*<sup>66</sup>, mention of which is, e.g., made RV.

10, 89, 4. Under the name *skambha* or “pillar of creation”, this axis, well known in other religions, is in the Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā 10, 7 and 8 described as sustaining heaven and earth, containing what is beyond the sky, as well as the existent and the non-existent, bearing the gods, seers, sacred stanzas and formulae, death and continuance of life. Prajāpati maintained the worlds he had established (10, 7, 7) in this *skambha*, which is revered as the Highest (10, 7, 21). Viṣṇu is on the other hand the one “who alone supports in a threefold manner heaven and earth, all inhabited worlds” (ṚV. 1, 154, 4). Since he is, for instance (see ṚV. 1, 154, 1; 7, 99, 2) explicitly said to sustain the upper component of the universe, a well-known function of the cosmic pillar, he may even be regarded as representing the *axis mundi*. And that the more so as occupying this central position in the universe he could also be associated, not only with the zenith, but also with the *dhruvā diś*, i.e. the fixed or central region, the centre of the earth and the universe under the zenith<sup>67</sup> (AVŚ. 3, 27, 5; 12, 3, 59; 15, 14, 5; cf. MS. 2, 13, 21: 167, 8 etc.) and with the so-called navel of the earth, the place where the *axis mundi* reaches our terrestrial world, putting the cosmic levels into communication and constituting a means of travelling to heaven as well as a canal through which the heavenly blessings may penetrate into the abode of men. Holy sites, temples etc. are widely believed to be situated at such a navel of the world or of the earth, which quite intelligibly is regarded as a sacred place. So is the Vedic sacrificial ground (ṚV. 1, 164, 35 (AVŚ. 9, 10, 14; VS. 23, 62) “this sacrifice is the navel of the (inhabited) world”; 2, 3, 7 *nābhā pṛthivyāḥ*); Agni (i.e. the sacred fire) is kindled on the navel of the earth, of the (inhabited) world, (ṚV. 1, 143, 4; VS. 11, 76 “this is the navel of the earth where they kindle it (the sacred fire)”, Uvāṇa)<sup>68</sup>. Moreover, this navel is quite intelligibly considered to be the centre and birthplace of all existence and the source of creation, of life, of energy, of reality, the place of union, where heaven and earth (i.e. father and mother) meet (cf. ṚV. 1, 185, 5; 1, 164, 33; AVŚ. 9, 10, 12). The term *nābhi* is almost exclusively used in connexion with the same very potent conceptions and the same sphere of interests and activities as Viṣṇu. And it should not be forgotten that when Prajāpati comes to fuse with Puruṣa and Viṣṇu he is stated to support the universe of which he is

the navel (MNārUp. 12). Moreover, the sacrifice is a winning or securing power: RV. 8, 53, 7 “We believed ourselves to have secured (the success aimed at) through our offerings and invocations”; 8, 54, 6 etc. and notice also the use of words such as *vājasāhi* “the acquisition of (re)generative power (by ritual means)”<sup>69</sup>. This is, however, also one of the most important functions of Viṣṇu<sup>70</sup> who is requested to fill his hands abundantly with good things from the sky, the earth and the wide atmosphere and to bestow these from the right and from the left (AVŚ. 7, 26, 8; VS. 5, 19; TS. 1, 2, 13, 2 etc.); to show “his universal benevolence and attentive regard (to the society to which the poet belongs) in order to give us lavishly abundant prosperity ...” (RV. 7, 100, 2); to protect (cf. 1, 22, 18) those who wish to enjoy their possessions after he has three times traversed the earthly spaces for the sake of oppressed men (6, 49, 13), and so on. So it is not surprising that the mantra TS. 1, 6, 4, 32 “by the sacrifice to god Viṣṇu, by the sacrifice, may I attain happiness, welfare, and a firm foundation” should be explained at 1, 7, 4, 4 by the observation that “Viṣṇu is the sacrifice”.

The figure of Agni differs from the other gods dealt with in that he represents something visible and perceptible, the principle present in combustion, producing heat and light (cf. e.g. RV. 5, 2, 9 = TS. 1, 2, 14, 7 r), which does not exist without him, in which he is present (cf. ŚB. 12, 8, 2, 36; see e.g., also TB. 3, 7, 6, 1) and which is his material substratum. He (essentially) is fiery energy (*tejas*, ŚB. 5, 2, 3, 8; 5, 3, 5, 8). His appearance is merely a description of the phenomenal fire. These facts determine the relations between the god and the sacrifice to a high degree, even in those cases in which god and fire are by means of some ritual technique regarded as distinct or separate, e.g. TS. 2, 6, 5, 6 “if (the *agnīdh*) were to say, ‘has Agni gone?’ he would make Agni go into the fire”. Just as it is hoped that the sun will bring happiness by shining, Agni is expected to bring happiness with the (sacred) fires (TB. 3, 7, 10, 5). Prayers or requests such as TB. 3, 7, 6, 7 ‘let Agni drive away the hostilities from here’ or TS. 1, 8, 5, 3 “Agni must free me from sin”, ŚB. 1, 2, 2, 13 etc. cannot be disconnected from the apotropaic function of fire<sup>71</sup>, the statement that he cooks or devours the offerings (TS. 1, 3, 10, 1 f; PB. 17, 8, 3)—although elsewhere (e.g. TB. 3, 5, 10, 2) he is, like other gods, said to enjoy

them—not from the destructive force of fire. Agni is the mouth of the sacrifice (TS. 3, 5, 1, 4) and of the gods (ŚB. 2, 5, 1, 8; 7, 1, 2, 4; 13, 7, 1, 3). At TB. 3, 6, 3, 4 he belongs to those gods who make the offerings palatable with clarified butter etc.: a reference to the oblations of ghee poured into the fire. He is the womb (*yoni*) of the sacrifice, “for out of it it is produced” (ŚB. 11, 1, 2, 2). Already in the R̥gveda he is the bearer of the oblations transmitting them to the gods in the heavens (*havyavāh*, e.g. 1, 12, 6; see also TS. 3, 3, 11, 3; 3, 4, 11, 1; TB. 3, 6, 1, 3) and as such he is supposed to be able to bring the gods down to the sacrificial place (TB. 3, 7, 4, 4). But, intelligibly enough, he has also a share in the sacrifices among the gods (ŚB. 1, 6, 1, 7 f.; cf. 4, 4, 4, 9). One offers to him, just as one offers to Soma, Savitar and other deities (3, 2, 3, 9; 11, 1, 5, 5; 12, 4, 4, 1 etc.) and one asks him to be pleased with the offering (VS. 8, 17; ŚB. 4, 4, 4, 9). In his capacity of the *sāvitra* fire he brings the soul “to the other shore” (TB. 3, 10, 9, 15). As “maker of the path” (*pathikṛt*, cf. RV. 6, 4, 4 = TS. 1, 3, 14, 7 w) he leads the sacrificer (back) to the path of the sacrifice (KB. 4, 3, 5; ŚB. 11, 1, 5, 6; cf. 12, 4, 4, 1; TB. 2, 4, 1, 6). Among his functions is that of the *āgnīdhra*, the officiant who has to maintain the fires, but he combines in himself also the other priestly activities (TB. 3, 7, 6, 15). He is often said to be a *hotar*, whose special duty is to recite the stanzas of the R̥gveda that invoke the gods etc. (TS. 1, 1, 14, 3; 3, 5, 11, 1 f.; TB. 3, 5, 2, 3; 3, 6, 4, 1; ŚB. 1, 5, 2, 1; cf. also TB. 3, 9, 5, 1 f.)<sup>72</sup>, but is also stated to be the sacrificer (*yajamāna*, TS. 3, 5, 5, 1—see also ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 21: the sacrificer is Agni, likewise, 6, 4, 1, 3; 12; 6, 4, 4, 18; 6, 5, 1, 8; 6, 6, 2, 7; 6, 7, 3, 12 etc.) and (TB. 3, 3, 7, 6 e) to function as the sacrificer or rather worshipper (*yaṣṭar*) of the gods, of whom he is also the *hotar* etc. (TS. 2, 5, 9, 5; PB. 24, 13, 5). Already in the R̥gveda (e.g., 1, 44, 2; 1, 72, 7) he is often called a messenger (*dūta*, between gods and men: TS. 2, 5, 11, 8 of the gods; TB. 3, 5, 2, 3 of men), or a mediator (TB. 3, 5, 10, 5). He is also the deity of the consecrated sacrificer (TS. 3, 1, 1, 3) and, like other gods, himself a consecrated person (*dīkṣita*, JB. 2, 53). His protection is often invoked or mentioned (TS. 1, 2, 14, 6; 1, 3, 13, 1; 1, 3, 14, 1; 1, 6, 3, 1; 3, 1, 9, 1; 3, 5, 4, 1; 3, 5, 5, 1). In many cases he is ‘identified’ (brought into close connexion or co-ordinated) with the sacrifice (ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 9 “Agni is *brāhman*; Agni

is the sacrifice (*yajña*)” (from the context it may be inferred that sacrificing would be impossible, if there were no fire; cf. also 2, 1, 4, 19); 4, 5, 1, 13 “all sacrifices are Agni, because all sacrifices are performed in him (i.e. in the sacred fire), the domestic sacrifices as well as the others” (4, 6, 3, 2 (likewise); 6, 6, 3, 17; PB. 11, 5, 2; cf. TS. 1, 7, 4, 5); or also with the *agniṣṭoma* (ŚB. 3, 9, 3, 32; 5, 1, 3, 1). His name is also used to denote the great fireplace or its construction (e.g. TB. 3, 8, 21, 1 ff.). Hence the ‘identification’ with Prajāpati<sup>73</sup> (ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 5; 6, 2, 1, 23). He is also the womb and the proper place (*āyatanam*) of the *aśvamedha* (TB. 3, 9, 21, 2). In a formula to be used in performing the horse sacrifice Agni is said to be the victim (VS. 23, 17; TS. 5, 7, 26); see also ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 22 “the horse is the same as that Agni”, so that by offering on the horse’s footprint one offers to Agni (*agnicayana* ritual). In his manifestation (Agni) Vaiśvānara he is the year (ŚB. 6, 2, 1, 21; 6, 6, 1, 20; 6, 6, 3, 16 etc.; PB. 10, 12, 7; cf. TB. 3, 11, 10, 2), the complete time-cycle which may coincide with other manifestations of the totality, e.g. “this universe” (ŚB. 8, 2, 1, 17; 8, 7, 1, 1). Agni is not only said to be *brāhman* (see above) but also the *ātman* (6, 7, 1, 20) and the *ātman* of all the gods (14, 3, 2, 5). Elsewhere (ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 20; 3, 1, 3, 1; 3, 4, 1, 19; 5, 2, 3, 6; cf. TB. 3, 9, 16, 3) he is all the gods, because in him offering is made to all the deities. On the other hand, at TS. 2, 2, 9, 1 all the gods (*sarvā devatāḥ*) are declared to be Agni and the sacrifice is said to be Viṣṇu; see also 3, 5, 4, 3. The author of TB. 3, 3, 10, 2 says that the *dhātār* “establisher” mentioned TS. 1, 1, 10 g is Agni. According to TS. 2, 3, 3, 1 the gods, desirous of glory (fame, *yaśas*) performed a long soma sacrifice (*sattram*); the glory came to Soma, who went to the hill, followed by Agni; Agni and Soma (the two great ritual gods<sup>74</sup>) united (cf. also 1, 6, 11, 5; 2, 4, 5, 2; 3, 4, 3, 2; ŚB. 11, 2, 6, 10). In PB. 25, 9, 2 Agni is stated to have become able to set the whole universe in motion by means of a definitive *sattra*, just as Savitar 24, 15, 2 and Prajāpati 25, 6, 2. Agni is, however, also described as practising, like Prajāpati and others, asceticism in order to realize an ambition (viz. to become an eater of food, PB. 14, 3, 19); but TB. 3, 1, 4, 1 he offers a cake to himself for the same reason). Elsewhere he is said to have beheld (*apaśyat*) the *agniṣṭoma* so that he became able to acquire the possibility of eating food (JB. 1, 237), to have beheld a *sāman* (3,

165) or to have worshipped the presence (locations, *dhāmāni*) of the sacrificial substance of the he-goat assigned to Indra-and-Agni (TB. 3, 6, 11, 4).

The above facts are hardly in need of comment; the many differences between Agni and Prajāpati as well as the points in which they resemble each other in their relations to the sacrifices are obvious.

A few observations may finally be made on Indra and the sacrifice. In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa and elsewhere this god is often said to be the deity of the sacrifice<sup>75</sup>. At first sight this seems to mean that there is, in this respect, no difference between him and Prajāpati of Viṣṇu. At closer inspection however the expression appears to characterize him as the deity (*devatā*) of the sacrifice under discussion, the deity to whom the oblations are (to be) offered. It must be admitted that some occurrences are less evident than, e.g., AiB. 5, 34, 5: “In that he says ‘chant with Indra’, one should know that the sacrifice is connected with Indra (or, “for Indra”, *aindra*), that Indra is the deity (*devatā*) of the sacrifice ...; verily he says, ‘let it not go from Indra ...’”. See also ŚB. 1, 4, 5, 4 explaining the use of a mantra addressed to this god (sacrifices of full and new moon; cf. 1, 6, 4, 12 “the full moon oblation belongs to the slayer of Vṛtra” (*vārtraghnaṃ vai paurṇamāsam*)); 2, 3, 1, 37 (*agnihotra*); 2, 3, 4, 38; 3, 2, 4, 20; 3, 3, 4, 18; 3, 4, 3, 18; 3, 5, 4, 8; 3, 7, 1, 17; 5, 5, 4, 17 and 32 (*sautrāmaṇī*) etc. Compare also 4, 3, 3, 6; 4, 4, 1, 18, and see 9, 5, 1, 33 “Indra is the self (*ātman*) of the sacrifice, Indra the deity”. In explaining the ‘symbolism’ of the great fireplace ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 7, after stating that Indra and Agni became one form, says that one builds up the dual deity Indrāgnī<sup>76</sup>. He is, on the other hand, said to have offered the *vājapeya* ŚB. 5, 1, 1, 6); cf. also 14, 1, 1, 1. For Indra (and other gods) described as sacrificing see also TS. 2, 3, 3, 1; 7, 2, 10, 2 (“then did Indra become Indra”); notice that in this case the rite that is performed already existed. At 7, 3, 7, 1; 7, 3, 10, 4 Prajāpati gives a rite to Indra by which he could tide over difficulties. According to TB. 2, 6, 4, 3 he has generated *satyam*, i.e. being in harmony with, conform to, reality and truth, a concept that can also correspond to ritual accuracy or the efficacy of the sacrifice. ŚB. 4, 1, 2, 15 he is the leader (*netar*) of the *yajña*, who is entrusted with the protection of Soma. PB. 1, 3, 5; 1, 5, 11; 14 he is

requested to put *indriyam*, i.e. his specific power (of body and senses), in the *stoma* in order to convey the sacrifice. The sacrificer is several times 'identified' with Indra: TS. 6, 1, 11, 1 "the gods placed the soma on the right thigh of Indra, the sacrificer (*yo yajate*) is Indra; therefore on says, 'Enter the right thigh of Indra'"; similarly, ŚB. 4, 5, 4, 8; 5, 1, 3, 4; 5, 1, 4, 2. Indra performs rites or elements of rites in order to effect such purposes as surpassing the other deities (PB. 19, 16, 2; 22, 8, 2); he slew Vṛtra with or by means of the full moon sacrifice (KB. 3, 5, 16; ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 19; 11, 1, 3, 5) or with ghee or with stanzas in definite metres and *sāmans* (JB. 1, 158; 163) as a *vajra* (AiB. 2, 23, 6) or also with metrical texts (JB. 3, 111); see also AiB. 5, 7, 2; PB. 8, 1, 9. Not infrequently he beholds a hymn, formula, or *sāman*; e.g. TB. 3, 3, 5, 1 when the gods and the *asuras* were in conflict Indra beheld the formula (probably TS. 1, 6, 1 b, cf. ĀpŚ. 2, 6, 6) with which one fixes the eyes on the melted butter; he used it and the *asuras* were defeated; JB. 1, 122; 1, 182; 3, 92; PB. 19, 18, 2. Just like Agni and other beings (e.g. JB. 3, 193) Indra, though initiating the ritual use of a text or chant, does not properly create it. He cannot on account of these stories be regarded as a creator god. Being in distress or in a desperate condition and wishing to overcome the difficulties under which they are labouring, these gods (and others) are considered to be able to find, in a state of intensified mental activity and of extraordinary receptiveness and inventiveness, a ritual expedient, which presents itself to them and henceforth remains at the disposal of those who, being in the same circumstances, know how to use it. But authors do not always mention this origin of a ritual element. In KB. 15, 2 ff. Indra is said to have slain Vṛtra and won battles by means of the *marutvatīya* which is "connected with the slaying of Vṛtra and the winning of battles" and probably existed already. On the other hand, the *mahāvṛata* ritual did not come into existence before Indra had become great after having slain Vṛtra (AiĀ. 1, 1, 1)<sup>77</sup>.

## ABBREVIATIONS

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| AiĀ.    | Aitareya-Āraṇyaka                         |
| AiB.    | Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa                         |
| ĀpŚ.    | Āpastamba-Śrautasūtra                     |
| AVP.    | Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā. Paippalāda recension |
| AVŚ.    | Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā. Śaunakīya recension  |
| BhGītā  | Bhagavadgītā                              |
| BhŚ.    | Bhāradvāja-Śrautasūtra                    |
| GB.     | Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa                          |
| JB.     | Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa                        |
| KB.     | Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa                        |
| KS.     | Kāthaka-Saṃhitā                           |
| MNārUp. | Mahā-Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad                    |
| MS.     | Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā                        |
| PB.     | Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa                       |
| RV.     | R̥gveda-Saṃhitā                           |
| SB.     | Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Mādhyamdina recension |
| ŚBK.    | Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa. Kāṇva recension       |
| ŚŚ.     | Śāṅkhāyana-Śrautasūtra                    |
| TĀ.     | Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka                       |
| TB.     | Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa                       |
| TS.     | Taittirīya-Saṃhitā                        |
| VS.     | Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā                        |

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. TB. 3, 5, 10; 3, 6, 15; ĀpŚ. 3, 6, 6; 8, 3, 4, and A. Hillebrandt, Das altindische Neu- und Vollmondsopfer, Jena 1880, p. 142 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. B. Keith, The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads, Cambridge Mass. 1925, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. Gonda, Die Religionen Indiens, <sup>2</sup>I, Stuttgart 1978, p. 90; 236.

<sup>4</sup> Keith, Religion and philosophy, p. 257.

<sup>5</sup> G. van der Leeuw, Religion in essence and manifestation, London 1938, p. 165.

<sup>6</sup> F. Heiler, Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion, Stuttgart 1961, p. 221.

<sup>7</sup> For reasons of space it has not been my endeavour to aim at anything like completeness.

<sup>8</sup> See also H. Oldenberg, Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft. Die Weltanschauung der Brāhmaṇa-Texte, Göttingen 1919, p. 168 ff. The verb can also mean "to generate, procreate" with the locative of a female being: TB. 1, 1, 2, 2 *prajāpati rohiṇyām agnim asṛjata*.

<sup>9</sup> J. Eggeling, The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, II, Oxford 1885 (Delhi 1963), p. 452. For the *caturhotar* and similar mantras see also Śrautakośa (Sanskrit), I, Poona 1958, p. 125 ff.; for the *caturhotyka* oblations ibidem (English), I, 1, Poona 1958, p. 205 ff.

<sup>10</sup> On creative vision, intuition, inspiration etc. see J. Gonda, The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, passim (Index, p. 362 ff., s.v.).

<sup>11</sup> For *anirukta* see W. Caland and V. Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, Paris 1906-1907, p. 178.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Oldenberg, *Vorw. Wiss.*, p. 147 f.

<sup>13</sup> It may be noticed that at ŚB. 12, 1, 2, 3 the gods are described as having fashioned the *mahāvṛata* ritual out of Prajāpati, just as they had fashioned the guest-offering out of Viṣṇu (1) etc.

<sup>14</sup> See A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 209 (TS. 2, 6, 4, 3); 210 (2, 6, 5, 2); P. E. Dumont, in *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.* 101, p. 241 (TB. 3, 2, 9, 11); 103, p. 594 (3, 3, 6, 6).

<sup>15</sup> It may be recalled that in these works the predication "a (is) b" can also stand for "a represents b, is co-ordinated with b, is of the same nature as b, is derived from b, is connected with, belongs to b".

<sup>16</sup> J. Gonda, *Vedic literature*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 104.

<sup>17</sup> See below, p. 11-12.

<sup>18</sup> And W. Caland's note, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, Amsterdam Acad. 1924, p. 253 f.

<sup>19</sup> On *tanū* see Oldenberg, *Vorw. Wiss.* p. 100 ff. Cf., e.g., ŚB. 10, 1, 3, 4 and 3, 3, 3, 8 (which Oldenberg incorrectly regards as a piece of arbitrary phantasy: "the she-goat was produced as the *tanū* of Prajāpati's 'asceticism' (*tapas*)"). As is well known Prajāpati practises *tapas* in order to be able to produce creatures (AiB. 2, 33, 5; KB. 6, 1, 1) and the very prolific goat is a "form" or manifestation of the creator god (e.g. ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 8). Victims are very often closely associated with the deity to whom they are offered.

<sup>20</sup> For other places see below, p. 14.

<sup>21</sup> See above, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> For particulars see Gonda, *Religionen Indiens*, <sup>2</sup>I, p. 187 ff.

<sup>23</sup> One should not follow S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les brāhmaṇas*, Paris 1898, p. 29 in thinking that here Prajāpati was immolating himself as the first victim.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Oldenberg, *Vorw. Wiss.*, p. 114 f.

<sup>25</sup> Thus Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 29.

<sup>26</sup> On visual contact etc. see J. Gonda, *Eye and gaze in the Veda*, Amsterdam Acad. 1969.

<sup>27</sup> For 17 as Prajāpati's number see below, p. 11-12.

<sup>28</sup> For the order in which the receptacles are enumerated see Caland and Henry, *L'agniṣṭoma*, p. 155; that for the *āśvinagraha* follows on p. 182; the two *ṛtupātras* are mentioned on p. 136. Some correspondences are clear at first sight: the cups for the oblation for Mitra-and-Varuṇa are fashioned out of the deity's dexterity and resourcefulness, the *śukra*- and *manthipātras* out of his eyes.

<sup>29</sup> See n. 9 above.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. J. Gonda, *The Vedic morning litany*, Leiden 1981, p. 25 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. also Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 21 f.

<sup>32</sup> See J. Gonda, *Adhvāra and adhvaryu*, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 3 (1965), p. 163 ff. (= *Selected Studies*, Leiden 1975, II, p. 86 ff.).

<sup>33</sup> ŚB. 4, 2, 5, 3, co-ordinating five officiants and breaths, voice etc. of the sacrifice brings the *udgātār* into relation with "the *ātman* ("self, person"), Prajāpati, of the sacrifice"; these five officiants constitute the fivefold sacrifice (4).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Eggeling, *ŚatBr.* III, p. 8 n.; Gonda, *Rel. Indiens*, <sup>2</sup>I, p. 159 f.

<sup>35</sup> Not "indicated" with Keith, *V.B.Y.S.*, p. 554.

<sup>36</sup> With Eggeling's note, ŚB. II, p. 402 f.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Gonda, *Rel. Indiens*, <sup>2</sup>I, p. 158 f.; 373.

- <sup>38</sup> Cf. P. E. Dumont, *L'aśvamedha*, Louvain 1927, p. 1.
- <sup>39</sup> See Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 28 f.
- <sup>40</sup> See above, p. 14.
- <sup>41</sup> Gonda, *Rel. Indiens*, <sup>2</sup>I, p. 161 f.; Eggeling, *ŚatBr.* IV, p. XXIV ff.
- <sup>42</sup> Cf. Gonda, *Vedic literature*, p. 375 f.
- <sup>43</sup> On this passage see Gonda, *Morning litany*, p. 91 f.
- <sup>44</sup> Remember that Prajāpati, the year and the sacrifice, each of them, represent the idea of totality and completeness (*sarvam*).
- <sup>45</sup> Cf. J. Gonda, *Āyatana*, in *Adyar Library Bulletin* 33 (Madras 1969), p. 1 ff. (= *Selected Studies*, Leiden 1975, II, p. 178 ff.).
- <sup>46</sup> See J. Gonda, *All, Universe and Totality in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, to be published in *J. Or. Inst.*, Baroda.
- <sup>47</sup> Compare *BhagGītā* 4, 24 and R. C. Zaehner's commentary, *The Bhagavad-Gītā*, Oxford 1969, p. 191 f.
- <sup>48</sup> Space forbids to enter into a discussion of the *agnicayana* ceremonies in which the ritual theory culminates (see Gonda, *Rel. Indiens*, <sup>2</sup>I, p. 187 ff.).
- <sup>49</sup> See Van der Leeuw, 1. cit.
- <sup>50</sup> For the gods owing their good fortune and glory to the sacrifice see, e.g., *PB.* 7, 5, 6; *ŚB.* 14, 1, 1, 3, and Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 41 ff.
- <sup>51</sup> Cf. Gonda, *Rel. Indiens*, <sup>2</sup>I, p. 289. See also Lévi, *Doctrine*, p. 159 f.; 163 f. (unfortunately often disregarded by those who wrote after him).
- <sup>52</sup> Truth (Eggeling's translation, *ŚatBr.* III, p. 363) is only an aspect of *satyam*.
- <sup>53</sup> Cf. H. Lüders, *Varuṇa*, Göttingen 1951-1959, p. 13 ff.; Gonda, *Rel. Indiens*, <sup>2</sup>I, p. 77 ff.; *The Vedic god Mitra*, Leiden 1972, p. 2 etc.
- <sup>54</sup> Cf. also S. Bhattacharjī, *The Indian theogony*, Cambridge 1970, p. 31.
- <sup>55</sup> I refer to Gonda, *Mitra*, p. 25.
- <sup>56</sup> See J. Gonda, *Change and continuity in Indian religion*, The Hague, p. 78 f.; *Rel. Indiens*, <sup>2</sup>I, p. 103; 168. The horse was an emblem of kingship and nobility and does not prove Varuṇa to have been a "sun-eyed sky-god" (Bhattacharjī's opinion, *Theogony*, p. 31).
- <sup>57</sup> This passage is not very clear, see Keith's note, *V.B.Y.S.* p. 173.
- <sup>58</sup> See J. Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht 1954, <sup>2</sup>Delhi 1969, p. 55 ff. etc.
- <sup>59</sup> Cf. Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 145 ff.
- <sup>60</sup> Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 106; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, III, Heidelberg 1964-1976, p. 337.
- <sup>61</sup> See W. Caland's note, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa*, Calcutta 1931, p. 218 f.
- <sup>62</sup> Irrelevant, but distinct from Viṣṇu and other manifestations of this god: *ŚB.* 12, 6, 1, 12.
- <sup>63</sup> Gonda, *Aspects* p. 81; see also p. 24 below.
- <sup>64</sup> *TB.* 3, 1, 5, 7 is hardly relevant: Viṣṇu is one of a number of gods who, after expressing a wish, present an offering, *in casu* a cake, to themselves.
- <sup>65</sup> Gonda, *Pratiṣṭhā*, in *Selected Studies*, Leiden 1975, II, p. 338 ff.
- <sup>66</sup> Cf. Gonda, *Rel. Indiens*, <sup>2</sup>I, p. 366; M. Eliade, *The sacred and the profane*, New York 1961 (1959), p. 36; bibliographical notes also in W. D. Whitney and Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*, Cambridge Mass. 1905, p. 589 and in J. Gonda, *Vedic literature*, p. 294.
- <sup>67</sup> See J. Gonda, *Viṣṇuism and Śivaism. A comparison*, London 1970, p. 6.
- <sup>68</sup> See also Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 85 ff.
- <sup>69</sup> Cf. Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 53 ff.
- <sup>70</sup> Cf. Gonda, *Aspects*, p. 21 ff.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. J. Gonda, Vedic ritual, Leiden 1980, Index, s.v. fire.

<sup>72</sup> See also the interpretation of VS. 12, 14 ( - ऋ. 4, 40, 5) in ŚB. 6, 7, 3, 11.

<sup>73</sup> See above, p. 8.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. J. Gonda, The dual deities in the religion of the Veda, Amsterdam Acad. 1974, ch. XII.

<sup>75</sup> At ŚB. 1, 4, 5, 4 Eggeling translates "deity of sacrifice" (cf. his note, ŚatBr. IV, p. 262, n. 1).

<sup>76</sup> The enumerative 'identification' in AiĀ. 5, 3, 2 "Thou art Indra, ritual work (*karma*) ..., continuance of life..." is hardly relevant in this connexion.

<sup>77</sup> For reasons of space I have to abstain from discussing the relations between other gods and the sacrifice. For Mitra see e.g. Gonda, Mitra, p. 71; 73; 79; for Aditi ŚB. 6, 5, 2, 21; in general: K. R. Potdar, Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda, Bombay 1953, ch. III.

## IRAN UND DER DUALISMUS\*

H.-P. HASENFRATZ

### I. *Einleitung*

Die Gretchenfrage in der Iranistik, soweit sie mit iranischer Religion befasst ist, lautet immer noch<sup>1</sup>: "Wann lebte Zarathustra?" In jüngerer Zeit schien man geneigt, später einheimischer Tradition und Spekulation folgend, Zarathustras Leben im 7. Jh. v. Chr. beginnen, im 6. Jh. v. Chr. enden zu lassen<sup>2</sup>, ja, ausgehend von den so gewonnenen Lebensdaten Zarathustras, auch die Entstehungszeit des indischen R̥g-Veda weit ins 1. Jt. v. Chr. hinauszurücken. Die ominöse einheimische Tradition, wonach Zarathustra "258 Jahre vor Alexander" gelebt habe, hat nicht nur die Zeitrechnung der iranischen Ereignisse belastet, sondern auch noch im altindischen Bereich die Datierung durcheinandergebraucht<sup>3</sup>. Es ist das Verdienst von Mary Boyce, die Zahl 258 auf ansprechende Weise "entmythologisiert" und damit die Chronologie der indo-iranischen Religion entscheidend entzerrt zu haben<sup>4</sup>. Nach ihr lebte Zarathustra zwischen 1'400 und 1'000 v. Ch. am Uebergang zwischen Stein- und Bronzezeit im nördlichen Zentralasien<sup>5</sup>. Eine solche *Datierung* und *Lokalisierung* hat vieles für sich. Sie wird unsern Ausführungen als Grundlage dienen<sup>6</sup>. Im übrigen muss man sich darüber im klaren sein, dass, ganz abgesehen einmal von Datierungsfragen, viele andere ungelöste Probleme auf den Wahrscheinlichkeitsgrad von Aussagen im Bereich der iranischen Religionsgeschichte drücken. So können denn solche Aussagen im besten Falle eine Art Wegweiser abgeben durch ein oft verwirrendes, oft dunkles, aber immer sehr fruchtbares Gefilde der Geschichte religiöser Ideen.

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## II. Die Religion vor und neben Zarathustra: der Dualismus von Leib und Seele, stofflichem und geistigem Sein

1. Im sog. *Haðōxt Nask* ist uns ein jungawestischer Text erhalten, der in Form eines Zwiegesprächs zwischen Zarathustra und Ahura Mazdāh über das Schicksal der Seele nach dem Tod orientiert<sup>7</sup>. Auf des Propheten diesbezügliche Frage antwortet der Gott mit der Schilderung der Reise, die die Seele eines verstorbenen Rechtgläubigen einerseits, die eines Falschgläubigen andererseits — jeweils mit konträrem Verlauf und Ausgang — zu bestehen hat. Obwohl der Text vielleicht gar nie in einer andern als seiner jetzigen zoroastrischen Gestalt vorgelegen hat<sup>8</sup>, lassen sich durch Motivvergleich Vorstellungen gewinnen, welche die *individuelle Eschatologie* der alten Iranier vor und neben Zarathustra betreffen<sup>9</sup>. Religiöse Vorstellungen iranischer Stämme also, die im 2. Jt. v. Chr. am Südfuss des Urals<sup>10</sup> ihre mutmasslichen Wohnsitze hatten, bevor sie in südlicher Richtung nach dem iranischen Hochland abwanderten.

2. Folgende Vorstellungen und Motive mögen *traditionelle Elemente* vor- und ausserzarathustrischer individueller Eschatologie sein — wozu noch einzurechnen ist, dass schon die Gattung “Jenseitsreise der Seele” an sich traditionell ist, wie altindische Beispiele zeigen<sup>11</sup>:

Die Seele (*urvan-*) weilt noch 3 Tage in der Nähe des toten Körpers, bevor sie sich endgültig von ihm löst. Die 3 Tage zählen zu “den üblichen Terminen des indogermanischen Totenkultes”<sup>12</sup>. Der Seele des Verstorbenen begegnet eine weibliche Gestalt, eine Art “alter ego”<sup>13</sup> des Menschen, zugleich jenseitige Verkörperung seiner diesseitigen Werke. Wir können hier auf das Problem der *daēnā* nicht eingehen<sup>14</sup>, merken aber an, dass weder der Gedanke, der Mensch begegne im Jenseits seinen eigenen Taten wieder<sup>15</sup>, noch der, dass man erst im Umkreis des eigenen Todes seine Doppelgängerseele sehen kann<sup>16</sup>, im indogermanischen Bereich fehlen. Die Seele des rechtschaffenen Mannes (*ašavan-*) steigt nun (mit Hilfe der *daēnā*) durch die Sphären von Gestirnen, Mond und Sonne<sup>17</sup> in die Himmelswelt der anfanglosen Lichter (*anaγrā raočā*). Hier wird der neuangekommene Himmelsbewohner von der Seele eines früher verstorbenen Rechtschaffenen fragend angesprochen, ob es ihm

lange gut ergangen und wie er verstorben sei. “Wie bist du ... aus dem stofflichen Leben zum geistigen Leben, aus dem entsagungsreichen Leben zum entsagungslosen Leben (*astvataṭ hača aṇhaot manahim avi ahūm iθyejanuhataṭ hača aṇhaot aiθyejanhuntəm avi ahūm*) abgeschieden?” Die Begegnung der neuankommenden Seele mit den Seelen früher Verstorbener darf als traditioneller, fester Bestandteil im “Programm” von Jenseitsreisen gelten<sup>18</sup>. Auch die Begrüßungsfrage lässt in ihrer Formelhaftigkeit auf alte, geprägte Tradition schliessen, zumal sie später im gleichen Text in einem Zusammenhang wieder erscheint, in den sie schlecht passt (wo sie also nur ihre Altehrwürdigkeit vor einer Anpassung an den Kontext bewahrt haben kann)<sup>19</sup>. Auf diese Begrüßungsfrage hin schaltet sich der Himmelsgott ein, wohl Ahura Mazdāh als Richter über die Taten der Menschen<sup>20</sup>, und sein Einspruch klingt ebenso formelhaft und alt wie die Begrüßungsfrage selbst: “Frage sie (die neuangekommene Seele) nicht, wonach du fragst, nach dem grausigen, schmerzvollen Trennungsweg (*xrvantəm āiθivantəm urvištrəm pəntəm*), den sie gegangen ist, nach der Trennung von Stoff und Bewusstsein (*astasča baodaṇhasča vī.urvištīm*)!”<sup>21</sup> Die Reise der Seele des unredlichen Mannes (*drvant-* = *drugvant-*) endet, im Unterschied zum beschriebenen Aufstieg der Seele des Rechtschaffenen, in der anfangslosen Finsternis (*anaγrā tmā*).

3. Wenn im *Haḍōxt Nask* wirklich Elemente vorzarathustrischer individueller Eschatologie aufweisbar sind (und es spricht einiges dafür), so hätten wir hier die früheste Bezeugung eines klar gefassten und abstrakt ausformulierten *Dualismus von stofflichem und geistigem Sein* — jedenfalls im indogermanischen Bereich<sup>22</sup>. Es werden deutlich 2 Grundformen des Daseins unterschieden: das stoffliche (materielle) Dasein und das geistige Dasein. Jenes wird als entsagungsreich (leidvoll) gewertet, dieses als entsagungslos (leidlos). Der Tod wird schon in geradezu klassischer Weise<sup>23</sup> formuliert als Trennung von Stoff (Leib) und Bewusstsein (Seele) (s.o. Ziff. 2 a. E.). Hinzu kommt nun, dass das Schicksal der Seele eines Menschen (sein postmortales geistiges Dasein) in genaue und ausschliessliche Entsprechung zu seinem moralisch-religiösen Verhalten in seinem leiblichen (stofflichen) Dasein gebracht ist. Die Prinzipien, die auf der Ebene des menschlichen Verhaltens jemanden als rechtschaffen (*ašavan-*) oder eben unredlich (*drvant-*) qualifizie-

ren, gelten als Wahrheit (*ṛtam*, *satyam*) oder Unwahrheit (*anṛtam*, *druḥ*) auch bei den Stammesverwandten der alten Iranier, bei den Indern<sup>24</sup>. Auch bei den Indern dieser frühen Zeit sind “unversiegbares Licht” (*jyotir aśasram*) und “tiefste Finsternis” (*adhamam tamah*) als nachtodliche Aufenthaltsorte zu belegen<sup>25</sup>. Es ist aber nicht so, dass etwa des Menschen Verhältnis zum Prinzip der Wahrheit (*ṛtam*), also sein moralisch-religiöses Verhalten bei Leibes Leben, die Art und Weise seines postmortalen Daseins zwingend determinierte<sup>26</sup>. Der Ort der Finsternis gilt eher als allgemeiner Verbleib gewöhnlicher Verstorbener; der des Lichts als Residenz besonders Privilegierter<sup>27</sup>, z.B. fleissiger Geniesser des Opfertrankes *Soma*<sup>28</sup>. Durch die Seelenwanderungs- und Einheitslehre hat sich die individuelle Eschatologie in Indien ohnehin dann in anderer Richtung entwickelt<sup>29</sup>. Weder bei den Germanen noch bei den frühen Griechen war es in erster Linie moralisches Verhalten des Menschen bei Lebzeiten<sup>30</sup>, welches seine Verfassung nach dem Tod bestimmte. Bei den Germanen war dafür insbesondere die Todesart massgebend<sup>31</sup>, dann das Geschlecht<sup>32</sup> oder der soziale Status<sup>33</sup>. Die homerischen Griechen erwartete alle dasselbe Los; denn im Hades weilten ihre Seelen *ohne* Bewusstsein<sup>34</sup>, wodurch Belohnung oder Bestrafung (aufgrund welcher Kriterien auch immer) ohnehin verunmöglicht war. Im alten Israel war es zwar *Jahwäh*, der bei den Lebenden<sup>35</sup> den Zusammenhang zwischen moralisch-religiösem Tun und irdischem Ergehen herstellte; um die Toten aber kümmerte er sich nicht<sup>36</sup>.

4. Im vorzarathustrischen Iran hat ein konsequenter Dualismus von Stoff (Materie) und Geist, Leib und Seele eine individuelle Eschatologie impliziert, die eine *jenseitige, geistige Existenzweise* des Menschen ausschliesslich von der *moralisch-religiösen Qualität* seiner *diesseitigen, leiblich-stofflichen Existenzweise* abhängen lässt. Ermöglicht wurde dieses eschatologische Konzept durch die Vorstellung einer *bewussten* Psycheseele<sup>37</sup>, die als Persönlichkeitskontinuum das geistige Leben mit dem stofflichen (materiellen) Leben religiös-moralisch verknüpft, indem sie dieses überdauert. Wenn sich auch in Griechenland die Vorstellung einer bewussten (cf. oben Ziff. 3 bei u. mit N 34) Seele im Zusammenhang mit einem Glauben an eine adäquate Vergeltung des menschlichen Tuns im Jenseits herausgebildet hat<sup>38</sup> und wenn in Israel sich *Jahwäh*s Vergeltungsan-

spruch schliesslich auch über den Tod des Leibes hinaus auf eine unsterbliche Seele erstreckt, die die Person des Menschen nach dem Tod fortsetzt<sup>39</sup>, dann ist mit dem Einfluss iranischer individueller Eschatologie zu rechnen. Die historischen Voraussetzungen für einen solchen Einfluss sind dadurch gegeben, dass der beschriebene vorzarathustische Stoff-Geist-Dualismus (mit seinen anthropologischen und eschatologischen Implikationen) vom Zoroastrismus übernommen und damit ins Kraftfeld des persischen Grossreiches einbezogen wurde, in eines der universalsten sozialen, kulturellen und religiösen Gebilde der alten Zeit<sup>40</sup>.

### III. Der Zoroastrismus: die beiden uranfänglichen Geister und der ethische Dualismus von Gut und Böse

1. Auch *Zarathustra* kann von stofflichem (materiellem) und geistigem Dasein sprechen<sup>41</sup>, und er hat den Leib-Seele-Dualismus seiner Umwelt (s.o. Ziff. II) übernommen<sup>42</sup>. Aber dieser Dualismus ist nicht das Zentrum seiner Verkündigung, höchstens eine ihrer gedanklichen Voraussetzungen. Das zentrale Anliegen der Zarathustrischen Verkündigung ist uns in seinem visionären (besser: "auditionären") Schlüsselerlebnis greifbar<sup>43</sup>:

Im Tiefschlaf (*xʷafnā*) offenbaren sich ihm 2 uranfängliche göttliche Geistwesen, "Zwillinge", die 2 Urprinzipien des Daseins — der gute Geist *Ahura Mazdāh*<sup>44</sup> und der böse Geist *Angra Mainyu*. Diese beiden gegensätzlichen Prinzipien grenzen nun ihre Wirkungsbereiche gegeneinander ab. Der zur Wahrheit (*aša*-) haltende *Ahura Mazdāh* bestimmt für sich das Leben und das Tun des Guten, der zur Unwahrheit (*drug*-) haltende *Angra Mainyu* das Nicht-Leben und das Tun des Bösen. Zwischen diesen beiden Urprinzipien sollen alle Wesen, die Götter, Dämonen und Menschen, die Wahl treffen. Die rechtschaffenen Menschen (*ašavan*-) und die Götter (*ahura*-)<sup>45</sup> wählen das Leben, die unredlichen Menschen (*dragvant*-) und die Dämonen (*daēva*-) das Nicht-Leben. Damit ist allerdings auch ihr endzeitliches Schicksal bestimmt. *Angra Mainyu* und sein Anhang fallen schlussendlich (im Kampf gegen *Ahura Mazdāh* und die Seinen) dem Nichtleben, dem Tod, der endgültigen Vernichtung anheim, die sie sich erwählt haben. Wer sich — durch rechtes (*haiθya*-) Tun — zu *Ahura Mazdāh* hält, erntet im-

merwährendes Leben. — Zarathustra hat in seine Verkündigung traditionelle Begrifflichkeit aufgenommen: traditionell sind, wie wir gesehen haben (oben Ziff. II 2 u. 3), die Abstrakta “Wahrheit” (*aša-*) und “Unwahrheit” (*drug-*) und ihre Ableitungen, die wir mit “rechtschaffen” (*ašavan-*) und “unredlich” (*dragvant-*) wiedergegeben haben. Es ist Zarathustras erstaunliche denkerische Leistung, das traditionelle Ordnungsprinzip (Wahrheit) und seine Verneinung (Unwahrheit) und die ihnen entsprechenden entgegengesetzten moralisch-religiösen Verhaltensweisen auf den moralischen Antagonismus zweier uranfänglicher geistiger Potenzen zurückgeführt, mehr noch, die ganze makro- und mikrokosmische Wirklichkeit in ihrer numerischen Vielfalt und raum-zeitlichen Ausdehnung auf den unableitbaren Widerspruch zwischen Gut und Böse reduziert zu haben. Dieser *ethische Dualismus*<sup>46</sup>, richtiger: dieser *ethische Antagonismus*, liegt gewissermassen *quer* zum Geist-Stoff-Dualismus der Religion vor und neben Zarathustra. Es ist ja nicht so, dass in Zarathustras Schau die geistigen Phänomene zum vornherein gut, die stofflichen (materiellen) zum vornherein schlecht wegkämen<sup>47</sup>. Sowohl das gute wie das böse Urprinzip ist ja geistiger Natur (*mainyav-*). Und beide verwirklichen sich gerade im stofflichen Leben, will sagen: in der geistig-stofflichen Wirklichkeit (s.o. a.A.) der Geschöpfe.

2. Lässt sich der gedankliche *Hintergrund* dieses ethischen Antagonismus bei Zarathustra noch weiter erhellen? Im indischen *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* werden an einer Stelle<sup>48</sup> Spekulationen über die Wahrheit (*satyam*) der Veden und ihres Opferrituals mit einer Götterlegende mythologisch untermauert:

Die Götter (*devāḥ*) und die Dämonen (*asurāḥ*) wollten das Erbe ihres Vaters, des Schöpfergottes *Prajāpati*<sup>49</sup>, untereinander aufteilen. Die Götter behielten das Wahre (*satyam* = awest. *haiθya-*), die Dämonen das Unwahre (*an-ṛtam*; zu *ṛtam* = awest. *aša-*). Durch das Reden des Wahren gewannen die Götter schliesslich die Oberhand über die Dämonen. Ebenso wird der Mensch, der sich ans Wahre hält, schliesslich die Oberhand gewinnen über den Unwahren. — Zarathustras Schlüsselvision und diese brahmanische Götterlegende schöpfen aus demselben Wortschatz<sup>50</sup>, sind wohl auch zeitlich (-kulturell) nicht allzuweit auseinander. Sowohl die Gemeinsamkeiten wie auch die Divergenzen liegen auf der Hand (wir brauchen

darüber keine Worte zu verlieren). Die Divergenzen lassen Zarathustras schöpferische Eigenleistung ermessen; die Gemeinsamkeiten stecken den gemeinsamen "Sitz im Leben" ab, innerhalb dessen solche geistigen Einsichten im indischen wie im iranischen Bereich erfolgten: die priesterliche Spekulation.

3. Ohne entscheidende Impulse durch Zarathustras ethischen Antagonismus ist die Entwicklung des *Teufels*glaubens im nachexilischen Judentum wenn auch nicht geradezu undenkbar, so doch schwer vorstellbar<sup>51</sup>. Die historischen Voraussetzungen für zoroastrischen Einfluss wurden schon umrissen (oben Ziff. II 4 a.E.). Unter diesem Einfluss muss sich die Gestalt des Satans vom Büttel im himmlischen Hofstaat Gottes zum eigentlichen Widersacher Gottes, zum universalen Prinzip<sup>52</sup> und Urheber alles Bösen<sup>53</sup> gewandelt haben. Natürlich ist in die Gestalt Satans auch kanaanäische Chaossymbolik eingeflossen<sup>54</sup>. Und natürlich hat die jüdische Konzeption eines Widersachers den monotheistischen Rahmen nicht gesprengt, indem da Satan als von Gott abgefallener Engel vorgestellt werden konnte<sup>55</sup>. Einen besonderen Platz nimmt die Sekte von *Qumrān* ein, deren Lehre von den 2 Geistern, dem der Wahrheit (*ʾĕmāt*) aus dem Bereiche des Lichts und dem des Unrechts (der Unredlichkeit: *ʿāwāl*) aus dem Bereiche der Finsternis, mit aller nur wünschbaren Deutlichkeit iranischen Einschlag erkennen lässt<sup>56</sup>. Aber selbst hier ist der Dualismus dem Monotheismus untergeordnet<sup>57</sup>, indem es Gott ist, der die beiden antagonistischen Geister einander entgegengesetzt hat, damit die Menschen in ihnen wandeln.

4. Auch im Zoroastrismus selber hat Zarathustras ethischer Antagonismus zu interessanten und folgenreichen *Entwicklungen* Anstoß gegeben. Der Prophet verband ja in seiner Schlüsselvision die Wahl zwischen den beiden Urprinzipien des Guten und des Bösen mit der Wahl zwischen Leben und Nicht-Leben (s.o. Ziff. 1). Je nachdem, ob sie Lebensförderung oder Lebensminderung bewirkten, konnten nun sämtliche Erscheinungen des Makro- und Mikrokosmos dem guten Urprinzip Ahura Mazdāh oder dem bösen Urprinzip Angra Mainyu zugeordnet, als göttlich (ahurisch) oder dämonisch (daëvisch) eingestuft werden. Als daëvisch, weil lebensmindernd, gelten: Finsternis (s.o. Ziff. II 2 u. 3) und Nacht<sup>58</sup>, Winterhalbjahr<sup>59</sup>, Trockenheit<sup>60</sup>, unfruchtbares Land, Ungeziefer<sup>61</sup>,

Krankheit und Tod<sup>62</sup>; als ahurisch, weil lebensfördernd: Licht (s.o. *ibid.*) und Feuer, Sommerhalbjahr, Wasser, Fruchtländ<sup>63</sup>, Nutztier, Gesundheit und Wachstum. Kontakt mit der daēvischen Sphäre ist zu meiden und einzig in Form des Kampfes gegen sie wünschenswert. Wo dieser Kontakt dingliche Berührung impliziert, entsteht dingliche Unreinheit, die durch Reinigungsriten unter Verwendung von Reinigungsmaterie (Wasser, Kuhurin) beseitigt werden muss<sup>64</sup>. Substanz verbindet sich nun gewissermassen zwangsläufig mit (negativer oder positiver) moralischer Qualität und kann sie durch Berührung (Kontamination oder Purifikation) automatisch annehmen oder übertragen. Eine Entwicklung wird hier eingeleitet, die man als Verdinglichung der Moral bezeichnen kann, als "Versetzung" des ethischen Antagonismus mit substanzhaften Kategorien. Eine Entwicklung, die letztlich im *metaphysischen Antagonismus* des iranischen Gnostikers *Mānī* ihren logischen Abschluss finden wird, wo die moralischen Prädikamente des Guten und Bösen mit den 2 metaphysischen Grundsubstanzen Geist und Materie zusammenfallen<sup>65</sup>. Die totale moralische Abwertung der Materie gegenüber dem Geist in *Mānī*'s System ist freilich nichts typisch Iranisches, sondern typisch gnostisch. Wir erinnern uns: im vorzarahustrischen Geist-Stoff-Dualismus konnte man bestenfalls eine leichte Disqualifizierung des stofflichen (materiellen) Daseins gegenüber dem geistigen verbuchen, wenn jenes im Text über das Schicksal der Seele leidvoll, dieses leidlos genannt wurde (s.o. Ziff. II 2 u. 3). Und Zarathustras ethischer Antagonismus lag ohnehin quer zum Geist-Stoff-Dualismus (s.o. Ziff. 1 a.E.). Als typisch iranisch bei *Mānī* muss indes seine konsequent antagonistische Interpretation der Gnosis angesehen werden, Interpretation, welche Materie und Geist von 2 uranfänglichen antagonistischen Potenzen herleitet: die Materie vom König der Finsternie (s.o.), der bösen Urpotenz, den Geist vom Vater des Lichts (s.o.), der guten Urpotenz<sup>66</sup>. Dadurch sind nun allerdings im Manichäismus vorzarahustrischer Stoff-Geist-Dualismus und Zarathustras ethischer Antagonismus faktisch zur Deckung gebracht.

5. Eine bedeutsame Entwicklung im Zoroastrismus (immer ausgehend von Zarathustras ethischem Antagonismus) betrifft die Eschatologie. Da Angra Mainyu als Prinzip des Bösen zugleich Prinzip des Nicht-Lebens ist, Ahura Mazdāh als Prinzip des Guten

zugleich Prinzip des Lebens, wird jeder Tod eines Lebewesens, besonders der eines Menschen, mit seinen Erscheinungen körperlicher Auflösung zu einem Sieg des Bösen über das Gute (s.o. Ziff. 4). Ahura Mazdāhs künftiger Sieg über Angra Mainyu muss deshalb, um vollständig zu sein, auch den Tod mit seinem körperlichen Verfall rückgängig machen. Die schlussendliche neue Existenzweise der Geschöpfe nach der grossen Wende (*frašō.karātay-*) kann nunmehr nur körperlich-leiblich (materiell) vorgestellt werden. Schon bald nach Zarathustra, dessen individuelle Eschatologie vom traditionellen Muster einer Jenseitsreise der Seele (s.o. N 14 a.A.) geprägt scheint<sup>67</sup>, taucht in Texten die Vorstellung einer *leiblichen Auferstehung* der Verstorbenen auf<sup>68</sup>. Anknüpfen konnte dieser Auferstehungsglaube an den bei den indogermanischen Völkern<sup>69</sup> sowie in Zentral- und Nordasien<sup>70</sup> verbreiteten Glauben an die Möglichkeit einer übernatürlichen (göttlichen) Wiederbelebung der toten Leiber von Mensch und Tier, einer Wiedervereinigung von Leib und Seele, Stoff (*ast-*) und Bewusstsein (*baodah-*) (vgl. oben Ziff. II 2 u. 3) unter der einen Voraussetzung, dass die Knochen (*ast-!*) vollzählig und intakt erhalten sind<sup>71</sup>. Die einem solchen Glauben adäquate Art der Bestattung durch Aussetzen der Toten und durch Einsammeln der Knochen in Ossuarien (*astōdān*) ist vom Zoroastrismus übernommen worden<sup>72</sup>. Zarathustra hat, wie gesagt (s.o. Ziff. II 4), das individuelle Gericht über die Seele des Verstorbenen unmittelbar nach dem Tod und in genauer Entsprechung zum moralisch-religiösen Verhalten des Lebenden seiner Tradition entnehmen können. Daneben<sup>73</sup> findet sich bei ihm die Ankündigung eines (künftigen) allgemeinen Gerichts über die Lebenden<sup>74</sup> in Form eines Ordals durch geschmolzenes Metall<sup>75</sup>. Die besprochene Rezeption des Glaubens an eine leibliche Auferstehung ermöglicht es nun dem Zoroastrismus, *individuelle* und *allgemeine Eschatologie* in einem „*eschatologischen Fahrplan*“ zu vereinigen: Unmittelbar nach Verlassen des toten Körpers fährt die Seele ins Jenseits und erntet (im Bereiche ewigen Lichts oder ewiger Finsternis) Lohn oder Strafe. Hier verweilt sie nun bis zur grossen Wende am Ende der Tage. Da werden die Knochen ihres frühern Leibes aufgerüttelt<sup>76</sup>, und sie wird mit ihnen zu einer neuen geist-leiblichen Gesamtexistenz (*tan ī pasēn*) zusammengefügt werden, um sich gemeinsam mit den andern leiblich Auferstandenen (und

den noch Lebenden) dem letzten Ordal zu unterziehen<sup>77</sup>. — *Ezechiel* schildert in einer seiner Visionen das Geschehen einer übernatürlichen Wiederbelebung von Menschenknochen und deutet sie seinem Volk als göttliche Verheissung einer religiös-politischen „Auferstehung“ Israels, das nach der Katastrophe von 587 v. Chr. zu existieren aufgehört hat<sup>78</sup>. Ezechiel muss mit zoroastrischem Gedankengut vertraut gewesen sein: das von ihm visionär geschaute und beschriebene Geschehen kann geradezu als zeitgenössische Illustration zoroastrischen Auferstehungsglaubens gelten<sup>79</sup>. Obwohl das Motiv einer supranaturalen Wiederbelebung aus intakten Knochen auch im semitischen Bereich anzutreffen ist<sup>80</sup>, hat es im alten Israel seinen „Sitz im Leben“ einzig in der Passahtradition (im Verbot des Knochenbrechens beim Essen des Passahlamms) gehabt<sup>81</sup>. Und nur in seiner eschatologischen Ausprägung durch den Zoroastrismus — als Glaube an eine allgemeine leibliche Auferstehung der Toten zum Endgericht — ist das Motiv für die Endzeiterwartungen des nachexilischen Judentums virulent geworden. Welche Bedeutung die Erhaltung der Knochen für das endzeitliche Auferstehungsgeschehen im Judentum gewinnt, zeigt das Aufkommen von Ossuarien (s.o.) auch in Palästina (und in der Diaspora)<sup>82</sup>. So verdankt das Judentum dem Zoroastrismus letztlich die Grundpattern seiner individuellen und allgemeinen Eschatologie: Trennung von Körper und Seele, individuelles Gericht über die Einzelseele (s.o. Ziff. II 4) — leibliche Auferstehung der Toten, allgemeines Gericht über alle Wiedererstandenen und Lebenden. Mehr noch: es verdankt ihm auch die Verknüpfung dieser an sich disparaten Komplexe in einem einheitlichen „eschatologischen Fahrplan“.<sup>83</sup>

6. Wenn Vertreter der sog. skandinavischen Schule<sup>84</sup> recht haben, dann lassen sich im indogermanischen Bereich nicht nur gemeinsame mythologische „Szenen einer Urzeit“, sondern auch ein gemeinsames mythologisches „Szenarium“ für ein *Endzeitdrama* nachweisen. Im mythologischen Repertoire zu Urzeit und Endzeit sowohl bei den Germanen wie in Iran und Indien (also an den am weitesten voneinander entfernten Kulturbzirken des indogermanischen Raumes) finden sie einen Grundstock gemeinsamer Bilder und Szenen. Für die Urzeit: das Urvakuum<sup>85</sup>, die Welt wird aus dem Körper eines getöteten Urriesen gebildet<sup>86</sup>, das erste Men-

schenpaar entsteht aus 2 Pflanzen<sup>87</sup>. Für die Endzeit, die uns hier besonders interessiert: ein schrecklicher Winter bricht herein<sup>88</sup>, alle menschlichen Gemeinschaftsformen lösen sich auf<sup>89</sup>, die (vorübergehend) gefesselte dämonische Gegenmacht kommt los<sup>90</sup>, der "grosse Krieg" zwischen Göttern und Gegenmächten (und ihrem Anhang)<sup>91</sup>, kosmische Katastrophen: die Sterne stürzen vom Himmel, die Erde versinkt im Meer<sup>92</sup>, Feuer vernichtet die Welt<sup>93</sup>, die Schöpfung wird erneuert<sup>94</sup>, alles Böse wird gut, verschwindet<sup>95</sup>, ein einziger Gott "kommt"<sup>96</sup> zur Herrschaft. Die grösste Uebereinstimmung registriert man zwischen der zoroastrischen und der germanischen Ueberlieferung, vor allem zwischen *Bundahišn* und *Voluspá*<sup>97</sup>; in Indien erscheinen die entsprechenden Stücke z.T. in die Lehre von den Zeitaltern und Weltperioden<sup>98</sup> oder in die nationale Epik eingebaut<sup>99</sup>. Viele dieser Mythologeme, welche das Weltende betreffen, sind uns nun aber auch aus der jüdisch-christlichen Apokalyptik merkwürdig vertraut<sup>100</sup>. Wie wäre dieser Befund zu deuten? Wohl so: der Zoroastrismus hat (im Verlaufe seiner Entwicklung) nicht nur alte gemeinindogermanische kosmogonische und anthropogonische Motive in seine religiöse Überlieferung integriert, er hat auch den Endkampf zwischen *Ohrmazd* (Ahura Mazdāh) und *Ahriman* (Angra Mainyu) mit traditioneller indogermanischer Endzeitmythologie angereichert. Die Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen zoroastrischer und germanischer Eschatologie gingen danach nicht etwa auf das Konto einer späten jüdisch-christlichen Beeinflussung<sup>101</sup>, sondern umgekehrt wäre das im Zoroastrismus und bei den Germanen nachweisbare gemeinsame indogermanische<sup>102</sup> "Endzeitszenar" durch Vermittlung des Zoroastrismus auch in der jüdischen Apokalyptik (und damit im Christentum) wirksam geworden.

#### IV. Zusammenfassung

Auf iranischem Boden (im weitesten Sinne) sind 3 Formen des Dualismus geschichtswirksam geworden: der vorzarathustrische *Geist-Stoff-(Leib-Seele-)Dualismus* (oben Ziff. II), Zarathustras *ethischer Antagonismus* (oben Ziff. III) und Mānīs *metaphysischer Antagonismus* (oben Ziff. III 4). Der metaphysische Antagonismus wurde die Grundlage einer (wenn auch ausgestorbenen) Weltreligion, denn

als das muss man den Manichäismus wohl bezeichnen<sup>103</sup>. Seine Auswirkung auf das Christentum ist nachhaltig gewesen<sup>104</sup>. Der Geist-Stoff-(Leib-Seele-)Dualismus und der ethische Antagonismus haben über den Zoroastrismus auf das nachexilische Judentum einen bedeutsamen Einfluss ausgeübt — und damit auf 2 weitere Weltreligionen: das Christentum und den Islam. Ich nenne die “lo-ci”, bei denen dieser Einfluss im Spiel war: individuelle Eschatologie (Gericht über die Einzelseele; oben Ziff. II 4), göttlicher Widersacher (Teufel; oben Ziff. III 3), allgemeine Eschatologie (leibliche Auferstehung und allgemeines Endgericht; oben Ziff. III 5), “eschatologischer Fahrplan” und “Endzeitszenar” (Apokalyptik; oben Ziff. III 5 u. 6). Man mag im einzelnen diesen Einfluss verschieden gross veranschlagen, man mag ihn verneinen. Fest steht jedenfalls, dass der Geist-Stoff-(Leib-Seele-)Dualismus und der ethische Antagonismus in Iran schon früh religiöse “Pattern” vor- und ausgebildet haben, die später auch für das Judentum und das Christentum (und für den Islam) konstitutiv geworden sind.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. B. Schlerath (Hg.), *Zarathustra*, 1970, Register, s.v. “Zeit Zarathustras” (für 314 lies 316!). — Wenn im Folgenden Arbeiten aus diesem Sammelband namentlich angezogen sind, so werden sie der Einfachheit halber nach den Seitenzahlen dieses Bandes (mit vorangestelltem Sigel SZ) zitiert.

<sup>2</sup> Etwa noch C. Colpe, ‘Zarathustra und der frühe Zoroastrismus’, In: *HRG* 2, 1972, 320.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Thumb/R. Hauschild, *Hdb. d. Sanskrit*, I, 1, 3.A. 1958, 130. Dazu richtig H. v. Glasenapp, *Die Literaturen Indiens*, 1961, 50.

<sup>4</sup> M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians*, 1979, 92f.

<sup>5</sup> Op. cit., 2, 18; dies., *A History of Zoroastrianism*, I, HO I-VIII, 1, 2, 2A, 1975, 3(ff) mit N 1 u. N 4, 190; II, ibid., 1982, xii, 1ff.

<sup>6</sup> Boyce’s Beitrag zur Geschichte des Zoroastrismus im HO ist in vielem epochemachend und weist sie als z.Zt. wohl beste Kennerin der Materie aus. Die Bände sind durch Register leicht zu erschliessen, wo immer hier nicht ausdrücklich auf ihren Inhalt Bezug genommen werden kann.

<sup>7</sup> H. 2, 1-36.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. G. Widengren, ‘Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule und der iranische Erlösungsglaube’, *OLZ* 58, 1963, 543/44.

<sup>9</sup> G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, RM 14, 1965, 37ff. Cf. auch Boyce, *History*, I, 240.

<sup>10</sup> Von *Ērānwež*, der traditionellen "Urheimat" der Iranier, ist überliefert (V. 1,3), dass in ihm 10 Monate Winter und 2 Monate Sommer geherrscht habe. Wenn Benveniste meint, dies sei eine einigermaßen akzeptable Beschreibung des Klimas von Xuvārazm, dem Landstrich südlich des Aralsees (Boyce, History, I, 145), dann dürfte er hier wohl irren. Wie eine Klimakarte zeigen kann, trifft die Klimabeschreibung (bei wohlwollender Interpretation) auf eine Zone am Südfuss des Urals, also auf ein Gebiet um einiges weiter nördlich. Siehe M. J. Müller/K. Baltes/D. Werle, *Hdb. ausgew. Klimastationen der Erde*, Forschungsstelle Bodenerosion d. Univ. Trier, 5. H., 1980, Karte "Eurasien" nach S. 108, dazu die Klimatabellen S. 130 (Station Nr. 71) u. S. 135 (St. Nr. 91). Vgl. auch unten N 22.

<sup>11</sup> KaušU 1,2 ff; ChU 5,10,1ff = BU 6,2,15f.

<sup>12</sup> K. Ranke, *Rosengarten, Recht und Totenkult*, o.J. (1951), 152.

<sup>13</sup> G. Widengren, 'Das Prinzip des Bösen in den östlichen Religionen', In: *Das Böse*, Studien aus d. C. G. Jung-Inst. 13, 1961, 54.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Schlerath, Zar., Reg., s.v.; auch J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien*, 1962, 329ff. — Zarathustra hat die *daēnā*-Vorstellung übernommen (s. Y. 31, 20), aber auch entscheidend modifiziert: er selber oder seine (des Propheten) *daēnā* führt die Seelen der Seinen ins Paradies (s. Y. 46,10 u. 45,11). Cf. G. Widengren, *Iranische Geisteswelt*, 1961, 148, u. H. Reichelt, *Avesta Reader*, 1911, Ndr. 1968, 152 (z. V. 13,9). Wenn *daēnā* im zoroastrischen Schrifttum auch "Religion" bedeutet, dann ist der semantische Zusammenhang wohl der: wer eine gute Religion hat (*hu-dēn*), wird im Jenseits einer guten *daēnā* begegnen (in Gestalt eines schönen Mädchens); wer eine schlechte hat, einer schlechten (in Gestalt eines hässlichen Mädchens). Cf. GBd. 30,4ff.

<sup>15</sup> Für Indien RV 10,14,8: der Verstorbene begegnet im Jenseits seinen Opferverdiensten (*istāpūrtam*) wieder; ŚB 11,6,1,7 u. 12: Bhrgu trifft im Jenseits 2 Frauen — eine schöne (*kalyānī*) und eine hässliche (*atikalyānī*); die schöne ist der Glaube an die Wirksamkeit des Opfers (*śraddhā*), die hässliche der fehlende Opferglaube (*a-śraddhā*); Dhammap. 219f: "den Menschen, der recht handelt, empfangen in der Himmelswelt seine eigenen Guttaten wie Verwandte den lieben Freund" (Übers. H. Oldenberg, *Reden des Buddha*, 1922, 383).

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. die germanische Vorstellung, dass man seine *fylgja* (Doppegängerseele) zu Gesicht bekommt, kurz bevor man stirbt. Å. V. Ström, *Germanischen Religion*, RM 19,1, 1975, 178/79.

<sup>17</sup> AVN 7ff. Die Reihenfolge Sterne — Mond — Sonne (vgl. Yt. 13,57; V. 7,52) scheint sehr altertümlich, weil von einer "naiven" Optik dirigiert: sie zielt vom Kleinern, schwächer Leuchtenden zum Grössern, Helleren. Cf. auch Boyce, History, II, 156/57.

<sup>18</sup> Für Indien s. KaušU 1,4, wo mit P. Thieme (*Upanischaden*, Aus dem Sanskrit übertr. u. erl., Ndr. 1971, 59 mit N 1) zu konjizieren ist: tam itvā samprativedo *madanti* — "darauf freuen sich, nachdem sie auf ihn getroffen sind, die ihn Erkennenden (d.h. seine verstorbenen Vorfahren und Verwandten, die ... in der himmlischen Welt wohnen)". Für die Germanen s. Ibn Faḡlān, *Risāla*, § 90 (die Paradiesesvision des dem verstorbenen Rūs-Häuptling ins Grab nachfolgenden Sklavenmädchens). — Vgl. Y. 49,11 u. oben N 15 a.E.

<sup>19</sup> H. 2,34. — Die Formel findet sich auch V. 19,31 in einem eschatologischen Kontext, dessen Vorstellungen in indo-iranische Zeit zurückreichen (Widengren, Rel. Irans, 39f). Cf. auch V. 7,52.

<sup>20</sup> Reichelt, Av. Reader, 137u.; auch Widengren, Prinzip d. Bösen, 41 (Y. 31,8).

<sup>21</sup> Widengren, Religionsg. Schule, 543.

<sup>22</sup> H. Lommel, 'Die Elemente im Verhältnis zu den Ameša Spentas' (1964), *SZ* 377ff, erklärt die erstaunliche Tatsache, dass der "Dualismus von Geist und Stoff" (384) — bei den Indern *der Sache nach* natürlich auch vorhanden (vgl. unten bei u. mit N 29) — bei den Iranern so früh auch *begrifflich* scharf ausgeprägt erscheint, mit engem Kulturkontakt zu den nord- und zentralasiatischen Jägervölkern (389ff). Ein solcher Kulturkontakt ist um so leichter denkbar, wenn die Sitze der alten Iranier weiter nördlich lagen, als bisher angenommen. Siehe oben N 10.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Plat Phaed 67d; Cic Tusc I 18.

<sup>24</sup> Duchesne-Guillemin, *Rel. de l'Iran*, 193ff; Boyce, *History*, I, 27; auch Wiedengren, *Prinzip d. Bösen*, 31 u. 42. — Auch den alten Germanen galt Wahrheit i.S.v. Treue zum gegebenen Wort als heiliges Prinzip (vgl. das Tryggdamál mit seiner Verworfung des Eidbrüchigen u. unten N 30). Für Iran s. noch Yt. 10,2b.

<sup>25</sup> RV 9,113,7; AV 8,2,24.

<sup>26</sup> Ansätze etwa RV 4,5,5 u. 7,104,3: einen abgrundtiefen Standort (padam gabhīram) in unerreichbarer Finsternis (anārambhaṇe *tamasi*) erwerben sich (ajana) Böse, Unwahre (*anṛtā asatyāḥ*), Uebeltäter (die 1. St nach Sāyaṇa). — Vgl. oben N 15.

<sup>27</sup> Vgl. E. Arbmman, 'Untersuchungen z. primitiven Seelenvorstellung mit bes. Rücksicht auf Indien (II)', *MO* 21, 1927, 31, 55, 83, N 4; P. Thieme, *Gedichte aus dem Rig-Veda*, Aus dem Sanskrit übertr. u. erl., Ndr. 1969, 43/44.

<sup>28</sup> RV 9,113,7ff (dazu Thieme, a.a.O.).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. H.-P. Hasenfratz, 'Die "Seelenlehre" der Upanischaden und ihre Bed. für das spätere religiöse u. philosophische Denken in Indien', *ZRGG* 33, 1981, 323ff.

<sup>30</sup> Bei den alten Germanen ist ein besonderer jenseitiger Strafort bekannt für Meineidige u. a. (Vsp. 38f); andererseits ist es Odin selber, der Meineid und alles Böse betreibt (HH. II 24 pr u. 34). Und in der homerischen Nekyia verbüssen zwar 3 ausgesuchte Frevler schreckliche jenseitige Qualen (Od 11,576ff). Ihr Schicksal erscheint aber deutlich als Ausnahme (E. Rohde, *Psyche*, I, 2.A. 1898, Ndr. 1980, 62).

<sup>31</sup> Wer im Kampf fiel, kam zu Odin (oder Freyja): Grm. 8 (14); wer an Alter oder Krankheit starb, zu Hel: Gylf. 34; wer im Meer ertrank, zu Rán: Sksk. 33(42).

<sup>32</sup> Jungfrauen kamen zu Gefjon-Freyja: Gylf. 35 a.A.

<sup>33</sup> Odin gehörten die Edlen, Thor die Knechte: Hrbl. 24. Nur wenn ein Knecht seinem Herrn freiwillig in den Tod nachfolgte, nahm ihn Odin mit auf: Gautr. 1; vgl. auch oben N 18.

<sup>34</sup> E. Arbmman, 'Untersuchungen z. primitiven Seelenvorstellung mit bes. Rücksicht auf Indien (I)', *MO* 20, 1926, 94 mit N 1, 189, 201 mit N 1 (Hom II 23,103f).

<sup>35</sup> ...am Volk, an der Geschlechterfolge, am einzelnen.

<sup>36</sup> V. Maag, 'Tod und Jenseits nach dem Alten Testament', *SThU* 34, 1964, 17ff.

<sup>37</sup> Der Terminus nach Arbmman, Seelenvorstellung (I u. II), pass.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. A. Dihle, ψυχή u. Verw. (lit. A), In: *ThWNT* 9, 1973, 609 mit N 7.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. auch E. Sjöberg, πνεῦμα u. Verw. (lit. C Ziff. III), In: *ThWNT* 6, 1959, Ndr. 1965, 374ff.

<sup>40</sup> Die "religionsgeschichtliche Schule" hatte die Ausstrahlungskraft Irans auf die religiösen Ideen seiner Umwelt hoch veranschlagt, wofür W. Bousset/H. Gressmann, *Die Religion d. Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*, HNT 21, 3.A. 1926, Reg., s.v. "Iranisches", Kronzeugen sind. Später waren selbst Iranisten

skeptischer, wie J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 1953, chap. VI, VII, VIII; Rel. de l'Iran, 220ff, 257ff, 272ff, veranschaulichen kann. Seitdem heute festzustehen scheint, dass die Achämeniden-Dynastie von Anfang an zoroastrisch war (Boyce, History, II, xif, 41ff), wird man diese Zurückhaltung revidieren müssen. Cf. Boyce, II, 153ff, 188ff, 259ff, 280ff; auch I, 246, u. Zoroastrians, xiii, 1, 29, 51/52, 76f, 84, 98f, 111f, 148.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Y. 43,3; 28,2.

<sup>42</sup> Widengren, Iran. Geistesw., 146; Rel. Irans, 84.

<sup>43</sup> Y. 30.

<sup>44</sup> Boyce, History, I, 103f; II, 232 (gg Widengren, Prinzip d. Bösen, 40/41, auch wenn er nicht namentlich erwähnt ist).

<sup>45</sup> Zu Y. 30,9 s. Boyce, I, 195 N 15, 225.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. W. B. Henning, 'Zoroaster (III)' (1949), SZ 160.

<sup>47</sup> Widengren, Iran. Geistesw., 147; Rel. Irans, 86. Cf. Boyce, History, I, 229/30.

<sup>48</sup> ŠB 9,5,1,12-18.

<sup>49</sup> Zu Prajāpati als Vater der Götter (*devāh*) und Dämonen (*asurāh*): ŠB 1,2,4,8; 4,2,4,11; 11,1,6,7f; BU 1,3,1. Weitere St bei J. Eggeling (Uebers.), *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, I, SBE 12, Ndr. 1963, 54 N 1.

<sup>50</sup> Ursprünglich war *devah* (*daēva-*) und *asurah* (*ahura-*) Gottesbezeichnung: im RV werden Götter (Varuṇa, Parjanya, Savitṛ u.a.) mit *asurah* angerufen (cf. A. A. Macdonell, *A Vedic Reader* ..., 7. A. 1970, 17, 108, 134); und der awest. Ausdruck *daēvāišcā mašyāišcā* meinte wohl einmal einfach die Gesamtheit göttlicher und menschlicher Wesen (Widengren, Rel. Irans, 20). Im iran. Bereich ist das erste, im ind. das zweite Wort negativ differenziert zur (ausschliesslichen) Bezeichnung *dämonischer* Widersacher der Götter.

<sup>51</sup> Bousset/Gressmann, Rel. d. Judt, 513ff.

<sup>52</sup> Boyce, History, II, 195.

<sup>53</sup> F. Horst, 'Teufel (Ziff. II)', In: RGG 6, 3.A. 1962, 705: "Die dem *at.* Gottesglauben wesenhafte Exklusivität Jahwes führte auch Unheil und Böses irgendwie auf Gott zurück." — Ein Vers wie Jes 45,6bf wirkt geradezu wie eine Abwehr des Dtjes gegen neuauftretende dualistische Tendenzen zoroastrischer Provenienz. Boyce, History, II, 120, 195. — Cf. auch Widengren, Prinzip d. Bösen, 61.

<sup>54</sup> V. Maag, 'Leviathan', In: RGG 4, 3.A. 1960, 337f. Cf. ders., 'Der Antichrist als Symbol des Bösen', In: *Das Böse* (s.o. N 13), 75ff.

<sup>55</sup> Bousset/Gressmann, Rel. d. Judt, 335; Horst, Teufel, 706.

<sup>56</sup> 1 QS III, 13ff. Dazu H. Wildberger, 'Der Dualismus in den Qumrānschriften', *AsSt* 8, 1954, 163ff, bes. 171ff.

<sup>57</sup> E. Lohse (Hg.), *Die Texte aus Qumran*, 1964, xv.

<sup>58</sup> Boyce, Zoroastrians, 32. Cf. Yt. 6,1ff; V. 18,13ff.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. Cf. V. 1,2,19; 19,43: Winter = *daēvageschaffen*.

<sup>60</sup> Vgl. den Mythos vom jährlichen Kampf des Siriusgestirns gegen den Dämon der Dürre (*apaōša-*) Yt. 8.

<sup>61</sup> Boyce, Zoroastrians, 44, 76. Cf. V. 14,5f.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 43, 44, 45. Cf. V. 2,29 u. 37: körperliche Mängel und Leiden sind ein Zeichen (*daxšta-*), welches Angra Mainyu in die Menschen gelegt hat; V. 20: Angra Mainyu schuf Krankheit und Tod gegen den Leib der Menschen. — Cf. schon Zarathustra Y. 30,6f: die Dämonen, die sich zu Angra Mainyu halten, machen das Leben des Menschen krank (6); wohingegen Aramati (Gottheit um Ahura Mazdāh) dem Körper (des Menschen) Bestand und Lebenshauche (*aṇmā*; dazu Widengren, Rel. Irans, 85u.) verleiht, damit er das Schlussordal durch geschmolzenes Metall gut überstehe (7). Siehe unten Ziff. 5 bei u. mit N 74.

<sup>63</sup> V. 3,23ff.

<sup>64</sup> Boyce, History, I, 294ff. Ueber den Einfluss der zoroastr. Reinheitsgesetze auf das nachexilische Judentum (P!) s. II, 188ff, bes. 190. — Noch ungelöst ist das Problem, wie und ob die awest. Bezeichnung für die Gemeinde Zarathustras (*maga-*) (cf. Y. 29,11) mit der für den magischen Raum und seine Gruben (*maγa-*) zur Abwicklung der "Grossen Reinigungszeremonie" (cf. V. 9,1ff) zusammenhängt. Siehe Schlerath, Zar., Reg., s.v. "Maga". Wenn man von einer Grundbedeutung der idg. Wurzel *magh-* ausgehen dürfte, die sich in dt. "mögen", "Macht" widerspiegelt, dann wären Zarathustras Gemeinde und der ausgegrenzte Reinigungsbezirk (mit seinen Gruben) eben Zentren, wo sich Ahura Mazdähs "Macht" gegen seinen Widersacher besonders wirksam erweist. Von der gleichen Grundbedeutung aus liesse sich die Etymologie von *magav-* ("Magier") erhellen.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. K. Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*, 1.A. 1977, 300.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 359ff; A. Böhlig/J. P. Asmussen, *Die Gnosis*, III, Der Manichäismus, 1980, 27ff.

<sup>67</sup> Widengren, Iran. Geistesw., 148; Rel. Irans, 87.

<sup>68</sup> H.-J. Klimkeit, 'Der iranische Auferstehungsglaube', In: ders. (Hg.), *Tod und Jenseits im Glauben der Völker*, 1978, 70ff, wo die entspr. Zeugnisse besprochen sind. Vgl. auch unten bei u. mit N 74.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Gylf. 44: Thor belebt die Knochen seiner geschlachteten und verzehrten Böcke wieder; da ein Knochen beim Mahl beschädigt wurde, lahmt eines der Tiere. Im Märchen vom Machandelbaum (KHM 47) gelingt die Wiederbelebung des von der Stiefmutter geschlachteten und vom Vater gegessenen Brüderchens, weil seine Schwester die Knochen sorgfältig sammelt und verwahrt. In Indien ist der Brauch bezeugt, die Gebeine bei der Beisetzung (nach der Verbrennung) so zu ordnen, dass sie eine menschliche Figur bilden (Arbmann, Seelenvorstellung, II, 171ff).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Lommel, Elemente, SZ 390ff.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. K. Meuli, *Ges. Schriften*, Hg.v. Th. Gelzer, II, 1975, 948ff, bes. 960 N 1 (960/61), u. 1105ff, bes. 1111ff; auch AaTh 720 (mit Verw. auf Motiv E 30). Zum Thor-Motiv (s.o. N 69 a.A.) und dem verwandten Pelops-Motiv (das Opfer, dem ein Knochen beschädigt wird, ist hier ein *Mensch*) L. Schmidt, *Die Volkserzählung*, 1963, 113ff, bes. 131f, u. 145ff, bes. 152ff: Verbreitungsgebiet Europa — Kaukasien (Karte S. 143). Diese Hinweise verdanke ich M. Lüthi.

<sup>72</sup> Lommel, Elemente, SZ 390f; Boyce, Zoroastrians, 14/15, 59, 90; History, I, 110, 113f, 325ff.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Y. 31,19 u. 20.

<sup>74</sup> Y. 30,7, von H. Lommel als Beleg für Auferstehungsglauben (schon) bei Zarathustra ins Feld geführt (s. Klimkeit, Iran. Auferstehungsgl., 69), kann zwanglos (s.o. N 62 a.E.) auf ein Gericht über die *Lebenden* bezogen werden. Siehe auch unten N 75.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Widengren, Iran. Geistesw., 148; Rel. Irans, 87/88. Boyce, Zoroastrians, 8/9, 28, 118; History, I, 34ff, 242ff: ein zu seiner Zeit praktiziertes Feuerordal (das darin bestand, dass man dem Inkriminierten zur Rechtsfindung flüssiges Metall auf die Brust goss) scheint in Zarathustras Vision eines allgemeinen Gerichts eingegangen zu sein.

<sup>76</sup> Der tt dafür ist *hangēzēnīdan* (*hangēxtan*). Cf. GBd. 34,3 (pas Sōšyans rist ul *hangēzēnēd*) u. 6 (ast...ul *hangēzēd*).

<sup>77</sup> GBd. 34. Vgl. Vers 18f mit 1Kor 3,12ff.

<sup>78</sup> Ez 37,1-14. Cf. W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiel*, BK 13, 1965, 900.

<sup>79</sup> Für Zimmerli (a.a.O.) ist Ezechiels Vision gewissermassen eine Spontanbil-

dung; an eine Beziehung zum zoroastrischen Iran denkt er nicht. Aber Visionen, so spontan und einmalig sie sein mögen, haben ja immer ihr "Spielmaterial"; und dessen Herkunft steht hier zur Debatte.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. G. Lüling, 'Das Passahlamm und die altarabische "Mutter der Bluttrache"', die Hyäne', *ZRGG* 34, 1982, 130ff.

<sup>81</sup> Ex 12,46.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. K. Galling, 'Ossuar', In: *RGK* 4, 3.A. 1960, 1734; auch H. Künzl, 'Die archäolog. Funde aus der Zeit des Frühjudentums...', In: J. Maier/J. Schreiner (Hgg.), *Literatur und Religion des Frühjudentums*, 1973, 426, 430.

<sup>83</sup> Bousset/Gressmann, *Rel. d. Judt*, 510ff, bes. 511/12, u. die Lit. oben N 40 a.E. Vgl. auch R.C. Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism*, 2.A. 1975, 57f, 316u.

<sup>84</sup> Å.V. Ström, 'Indogermanisches in der Völuspá', *Numen* 14, 1967, 167ff; *Germ. Rel.*, 242ff (dasselbe, nur komprimiert); S. Wikander, 'Germanische und indo-iranische Eschatologie', *Kairos* 2, 1960, 83ff.

<sup>85</sup> Vsp. — Bd.; RV.

<sup>86</sup> Grm., Vm. — Für Indien vgl. *Puruṣasūkta*, für Iran Widengren, *Iran. Geistesw.*, 49, auch 30. — Die Gemeinsamkeit zwischen Grm. 40f, Vm. 21 u. RV 10,90,14 finde ich bei Ström nirgends erwähnt, obwohl auf der Hand liegend.

<sup>87</sup> Vsp. — Bd.

<sup>88</sup> Vm., Vsp. — Bahman Yt. Für den germ. Bereich wäre noch Hdl. 42 anzuführen.

<sup>89</sup> Vsp. — Bahman Yt. Für Indien trifft das im bösen Zeitalter Kali ein. E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der ind. Philosophie*, I, 1953, 115 (*Śukānupraśna*). — Vgl. Mk 13,12.

<sup>90</sup> Vsp. (der gefesselte *Loki*) — Bd. (der gefesselte *Azdahāg*). Hier hinzufügen wäre Bahman Yt. 3,57. — Vgl. Apk 20,1-4.7, wozu Bousset/Gressmann, *Rel. d. Judt*, 516, u. E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, HNT 16, 3.A. 1970, 161, z.vgl. Den mythologischen "Anteil" Kanaans an der Drachen-, Schlangengestalt des Widersachers konnten B./Gr. nicht ermessen, da ihnen die Texte aus Ugarit nicht bekannt waren (vgl. oben Ziff. 3 bei u. mit N 54). Siehe auch Widengren, *Prinzip d. Bösen*, 60.

<sup>91</sup> Vsp. — Bd. In Indien ist das eschatologische Motiv des "grossen Krieges" (*ardīg ī vuzurg*) "historisiert" und in die epische Tradition (*Mahābhārata*) eingeschmolzen. Wikander, *Eschatologie*, 88; auch Widengren, *Prinzip d. Bösen*, 60. Eine ebensolche "Historisierung" hat der eschatologische Endkampf bei den Nordgermanen in der Schilderung der Brávalla-Schlacht erfahren (s. Saxo, *Gesta Dan.*, 8,262), wobei sich zum *Mahābhārata* erstaunliche Parallelen ergeben: die beiden Kontrahenten der grossen Entscheidungsschlacht sind miteinander verwandt, einer von ihnen ist blind, beider Stamm-Mutter ist sexuell missbraucht worden, die Schlacht wird durch Tötung eines Helden mit unzähligen Pfeilen entschieden (Wikander, 83ff), der höchste Gott kämpft (in menschlicher Gestalt) als Wagenlenker mit. — Vgl. Apk 20,7ff (die widergöttlichen Gestalten *Gog und Magog*, die mit dem Endkampf verbunden sind, verweisen mythologisch ins Zweistromland, wie Maag, *Antichrist*, 78ff, zeigt).

<sup>92</sup> Vsp. (zu erg. wäre Hdl. 42) — Bd. Das Motiv eines Endzeitkataklismus scheint in Iran zu fehlen, wohl weil hier Wasser als wesenhaft positives Element erlebt wird (vgl. oben Ziff. 4 b. N 63). Dafür ist die Vorstellung in Indien bekannt, am Ende einer alten Weltperiode löse sich die Erde im Wasser auf. Frauwallner, *Gesch. d. ind. Philosophie*, I, 119/20 (*Śukānupraśna*). — Cf. Mk 13,25. Zum "Gegenmotiv" einer endzeitlichen Trockenheit vgl. Bahman Yt. 2,42 mit Apk 11,6.

<sup>93</sup> Vsp. — Bd. (hier nur im Zusammenhang mit dem endzeitlichen Feuerordal; s.o. Ziff. 5 bei u. mit N 75 u. 77). Nach dem Śukānupraśna wird am Ende einer alten Weltperiode Feuer alles auf der Erde vernichten. Frauwallner, a.a.O. — Vgl. 2Petr 3,7ff.

<sup>94</sup> Vsp. — Bd. Für Indien: Neuschöpfung am Anfang jeder neuen Weltperiode. Frauwallner, 118f (Śukānupr.). — Vgl. Apk 21,1.

<sup>95</sup> Vsp. 62ff — GBd. 34,18-26.30-33. Nach indischer Lehre folgt auf das böse Zeitalter Kali (oben N 89) das gute Zeitalter Kṛta, womit auch alles Böse wieder verschwindet. Frauwallner, 114(ff). — Vgl. Apk 20,10ff. Die zoroastrische Lehre von der *Apokatastasis* hat das Judentum und das Christentum (wie man sieht) nicht übernommen; sie ist auch der Verkündigung Zarathustras fremd (s. Boyce, History, I, 242/43, 244). Wenn sie sich später im Zoroastrismus durchgesetzt hat, so hat sich wohl indogermanisches eschatologisches Erbgut wieder Geltung verschafft. Cf. Ström, Indogermanisches in der Vsp., 200.

<sup>96</sup> Vsp. 65 (þá kǫmr inn ríki at regindómi) — GBd. 34,29 (Ohrmazd ō gētīg āyēd). Das Verb "kommen" scheint in der indogermanischen eschatologischen Tradition verankert; in der jüd-chr Apokalyptik ist es mit der Ankunft des Menschensohnes verbunden (vgl. Mk 13,26: ἐρχόμενον). Ström, Indogermanisches in der Vsp., 196ff.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. oben N 85, 87, 90-96. Ström, Indogermanisches in der Vsp., 173ff, bes. 181ff (hier sind die wichtigen St in Uebersetzung vorgeführt).

<sup>98</sup> Cf. oben N 89, 92-95. Frauwallner, Gesch. d. ind. Philosophie, I, 113ff.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. oben N 91 (Wikander).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. oben N 89-96. Bousset/Gressmann, Rel. d. Judent, Kap. xiii, z.vgl.

<sup>101</sup> Man dachte an einen chr Ueberlieferer oder gar Verfasser der Vsp. Ebenso ist natürlich *an sich* denkbar, die Eschatologie des Bd. habe Anleihen bei der jüd oder chr Apokalyptik gemacht.

<sup>102</sup> Vgl. Ström, Indogermanisches in der Vsp., 195/96 (bei den Parallelen zwischen Vsp. u. Bd. handle es sich "nicht um Einfluss, sondern um Erbe"); Wikander, Eschatologie, 87, im Gefolge G. Dumézils (die 3 besprochenen Ueberlieferungszweige deuten "auf ein gemeinsames indogermanisches Erbe eschatologischer Vorstellungen").

<sup>103</sup> Rudolph, Gnosis, 349.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., 394f(f).

## DIVINE EPIPHANIES IN HOMER\*

B. C. DIETRICH

The Judaeo-Christian God is present in every human act or thought to guide, direct, comfort man and listen to his prayer. But actual epiphanies are vouchsafed to a few chosen saints, and then it is rarely God who appears but an emissary. Revelation of His divine presence is mostly reserved for men after death, and for those who have returned from the brink of death. Many moving accounts have been recorded of the latter being aware of Christ approaching within a powerful bright light when they were on the point of dying.

In Greek belief the dead, and even those on the point of death, possessed similar special vision which was presumably derived from direct communication<sup>1</sup>. Thus the dying Patroclus could forecast Hector's own death<sup>2</sup>, or that of his friend Achilles<sup>3</sup>. But if one takes the trouble to examine the recorded instances of direct physical epiphanies, as opposed to an undefined divine presence, they turn out to be as rare almost as in Christian belief.

A polytheistic religion creates its own particular problems. Individual gods in Greece were bound to their cult sites as a rule. They had to move from place to place like men, and it was unusual for one to be seen in two places at once<sup>4</sup>. In the normal order of things a god travelled to his temple, visited his sacrifice or place of cult, like Apollo who moved from Delphi to Delos and visited the Hyperboreans in the far north. Aphrodite, too, commuted between Cyprus and Corinth. Thetis, in the First Book of the *Iliad*, was obliged to wait twelve days for the gods to return to Olympus after feasting with the Ethiopians.

Such human physical limitations of the Homeric Olympians could cause some paradoxical situations. All-knowing Zeus proves

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only too fallible. Once he fails to see what is going on behind his back while he is distracted by Hera's charms. There are many similar well-known cases where a god does not see because he is not there. Beside the individual named Olympians, whose reactions closely resembled those of their human models, there is also the impersonal force of a *theos*, or even the collective *theoi*. This latter seems to come close to Socrates' view of omniscient ubiquitous gods who also act collectively<sup>5</sup>. Both concepts were nevertheless compatible because they can be explained as two different views of the same gods. The Homeric character was constantly aware of divine intervention in some form or another which he ascribed to an unnamed *theos*. The poet alone, as a rule, identified the Olympian responsible, while the human character remained in ignorance of the particular god<sup>6</sup>.

Almost everyone since Herodotus<sup>7</sup> knows that the Olympian family of gods was primarily an epic creation. They looked, lived and loved like men. How then did Homer and his audience imagine these only too human gods to have physically communicated with their mortal counterparts? Did they appear to them always in the same manner and form? Surprisingly accounts in Homer of actual divine manifestations are far from clear. They lack method of procedure, so to speak. The circumstances of the epiphany not only vary greatly, but they tend to be confused, contradictory even at times, and quite frequently impossible to visualize. Perhaps the audience took the words of the minstrel on trust, and concerned itself more with the mention of divine appearance than with the manner in which it was achieved. In short the descriptions of epiphanies are imaginative rather than plausible in the majority of instances. This vagueness was not, in my opinion, confined to Homer but recurred in much of the vast *corpus* of seemingly direct invocations in subsequent Greek literature. Lyric and dramatic poetry continued Homeric traditions without ever asking itself when and how the gods actually appeared to their human worshippers. Perhaps the caller did not see, or did not even expect to see the god.

Before pursuing this provocative thesis let me illustrate my point with two instances which first led me to question the accepted view on Homeric epiphany. Both are from *Iliad* i, namely the appearance of Apollo at the beginning of the Book, and the scene between

Achilles and Thetis on the beach. Though less often discussed than the more famous epiphany of Athena in the same Book, these two examples are nonetheless representative of the mechanics of many comparable scenes in both epics. And yet, how clearly conceived were they as actual happenings? Achilles weeping and in despair at the loss of Briseis went to the sea-shore and called on his divine mother Thetis to come to him. He prayed to her in the customary manner, standing upright and with arms outstretched<sup>8</sup>. Thetis heard his appeal and rose swiftly from the sea like mist. She sat before him shedding tears, stroked his hand and asked 'Why do you weep my son?'<sup>9</sup> Invocation and epiphany seem straightforward enough. But how to reconcile Thetis' mist-like ascent with her human shape in which, like some genie, she appeared and sat beside her son?

Earlier in the same Book the god Apollo had heard the prayer of his priest Chryses asking for the punishment of the Greeks. The poet tells us that,

'There was anger in Apollo's heart and he came down from the peaks of Olympus.  
His bow on his back and his close-covered quiver.  
The arrows within it clashed on his shoulders as the angry god was moving along.'<sup>10</sup>

No one saw him as he

'sat far away from the ships. He sent off an arrow and a terrible sound arose from his silver bow.'<sup>11</sup>

The picture of the human god is crystal clear, and yet the poet compares his epiphany with the descent of Night.<sup>12</sup>

Before I am accused of nit-picking pedantry, let me agree at once that Homer's intention was to describe the god's arrival by picturesque poetic simile. Mist and Night are apt comparisons in the context, and one remembers the scene in a later Book when destructive Ares was said to rise to heaven like a storm cloud, despite the fact that Diomedes had seen and wounded him in human form<sup>13</sup>. Apollo, the sender of the plague, descends like Night on the Greek army. What could be a more natural picture? Although in superstitious belief not Night but the Sun's rays were potent carriers of disease. The German philosopher Kant still slept with his

curtains drawn for this reason. But we learn nothing more about how exactly the Homeric audience could be expected to visualize the epiphany.

The manner of Apollo's and Athena's descent suggests images from religious belief. In fact on other occasions Homer can describe divine epiphanies in the form of natural phenomena which are perceived as such by the people. In *Iliad* iv, for example, Athena swooped down from Olympus,

'like a comet which the son of Kronos, crooked in counsel, sends in a shower of sparks as a shining portent to sailors and the widespread army of peoples.'<sup>14</sup>

Although the goddess assumed the appearance of the Trojan hero Laodocus before addressing Pandarus, there is no doubt that the epiphany itself occurred in the form of a bright star as which she was seen descending from the sky. On seeing it, or her, the people were seized with wonder and believed that the omen presaged 'evil war and strife'<sup>15</sup>. Sometimes, however, as in our first two examples, the ambiguous manner of appearance betrays a poetic simile which did not really intend to describe a realistically conceived epiphany. So later in the epic Athena was once more despatched from Olympus by Zeus to stir up the Greeks. She appeared in the guise of Phoenix<sup>16</sup>. The episode is the parallel of Ares' ascent<sup>17</sup>. Here in Book xvii Athena's cloud was compared to a darkly shimmering rainbow which Zeus stretched out to signal war and strife for men<sup>18</sup>. Only this time Athena was not the portent itself, she was merely *likened* to one<sup>19</sup>.

It follows that the various verbal forms and expressions for 'like' in Homer could signify either true identification or be intended as comparisons only. In many cases the distinction between fact and simile is quite plain. When some hero fights like a lion, or Menelaus, say, is described as pacing the throng of fighters like an animal, *θηρὶ ἔοικώς*<sup>20</sup>, there is no doubt that we are dealing with a simile. The same is true, of course, when Diomedes is said to rush along like a river in flood<sup>21</sup>. At other times, however, the distinction between 'seeming' and 'being' is far less obvious. Menelaus holding the sceptre like an ignorant man, *ἄιδρει φῶτι ἔοικώς*<sup>22</sup>, may still be just acceptable as fact, because Menelaus was apt to look sil-

ly and do silly things like offering to fight the superior Hector<sup>23</sup>. But we can no longer pretend to read the poet's mind in the other famous epiphany in *Iliad* i which belongs to a grey area between private fancy and visible fact. Athena prevented Achilles from killing his overlord Agamemnon. She appeared to him alone, in plain view but unseen by anyone else<sup>24</sup>. How precisely this epiphany was thought to function is far from certain judging from the divergent opinions among modern interpreters of the scene.

Nowhere is this doubt more perplexing than in the continuing debate about divine epiphanies in bird form<sup>25</sup>. There are dark hints in Homer of past gods in animal and bird shape<sup>26</sup>. Quite possibly Athena's common epithet of *glaukopis* referred back to a prehistoric identification of the goddess with the grey-eyed owl<sup>27</sup>. She often arrived from Olympus in bird form, and was seen thus by Telemachus and Nestor for instance<sup>28</sup>. But the poet's view seems confused, for his goddess changed from bird to man and back to goddess like some amorphous Proteus<sup>29</sup>.

The poetic element is still more pronounced in a scene from the *Iliad* which otherwise has much in common with Athena's visitation and gift of strength to Telemachus. Again Athena descended from Olympus. She instilled nectar and ambrosia in Achilles breast to stay his hunger<sup>30</sup>. No one, not even Achilles, saw her arrive or depart again to her father's palace. Thus her flight was merely compared with that of a bird of prey,

'she leapt from Olympus, fast as the flight of a bird'.

The idea of great speed was uppermost in the poet's mind in this and other scenes of this type which support the view of the sceptics<sup>31</sup>. There is no emphasis on epiphany in any of them, only speed like the image of Hera's rapid progress from Ida to Olympus in an unusually fine simile.

'As the thought flashes in the mind of a man who has travelled far, and he thinks and ponders wishing to be here and there, so swiftly flew godly Hera in her eagerness'<sup>32</sup>.

Birds possess many other qualities, of course, which the poet found attractive in describing the activities of gods and men. There is the pleasant scene of Leucothea rising up from the sea to sit on

Odysseus' raft like a water hen<sup>33</sup>, or of Hera and Athena hurrying along like a pair of nervous pigeons<sup>34</sup>. Men, too, act like birds. In the course of his *aristeia* Patroclus raced through the front line of combatants like the swift hawk<sup>35</sup>. Odysseus' shipwrecked companions sadly drown: they are described as diving into the sea like cormorants. The poet's simile suggests the same sardonic humour as in the description of the faithless maidservants who were hanging from the noose like pigeons or thrushes 'who spread their wings'<sup>36</sup>. It would be eccentric to imagine that Odysseus' companions actually turned into cormorants<sup>37</sup>.

But in a few borrowings from the world of birds the poet may have wished to express more than the speed and gracefulness of the Olympian gods. I am particularly thinking of occasions when birds seem to obtrude in an epiphany without good reason, as if their presence were required by tradition even at the cost of plausibility. Thus, after speaking to the two Ajaxes in the form of Calchas, Poseidon flew off like a hawk<sup>38</sup>. Whether or not the god actually transformed himself into that bird, the image is bound to confuse the hearer, because the lesser Ajax immediately recognized Poseidon by his tracks, or feet and legs<sup>39</sup>. Again Apollo's and Athena's change into vultures is equally puzzling, because at the time they were removed from human view<sup>40</sup>. No direct epiphany was involved<sup>41</sup>, but the act of communication between human and divine levels triggered off the usual mechanism of divine metamorphosis<sup>42</sup>. In both cases, however, the bird form was irrelevant to the context of the passage. Nor did the metamorphosis perform a useful or even poetically attractive function. So the poet possibly played up some traditional belief, but it needs to be said that the Homeric evidence for this is weak. There is no proof that birds, beyond their common purpose as messengers of divine will, had ever been essential instruments of epiphany<sup>43</sup>.

The truth is that in Homer the lines between poetic imagery and deeper religious concepts are not stable. Both interflow and mingle producing new images in kaleidoscopic fashion. The poet exercised his imagination. He played with the possible and plausible in people's minds in order to create an atmosphere of superhuman power. Athena, for instance, directly inspired Odysseus in the shape and voice of Mentor at the beginning of the fight with the suitors. She

then flew up to the smoky rafters of the hall. Homer says that 'she was like a swallow to look at', that is she evidently changed into that bird<sup>44</sup>. Odysseus did not react to the transformation and her sudden departure, unlike the Ajaxes in their scene with Poseidon<sup>45</sup>. And yet we still cannot be sure how far the poet wanted us to visualize the epiphany realistically. If that sounds complicated, consider how some fifty verses further on the swallow contrived to wave aloft Athena's life-destroying *aegis* and to cast terror into the suitors' hearts.

Either at this dramatic point in the story the poet abandoned credibility, or perhaps we ought not to judge him by our modern criteria. For example, ideas, feelings and certain qualities do 'appear' to Homeric heroes at least as often as some god. Even then, as we saw, it may be impossible to distinguish between thought and actual presence. Did Athena literally appear to Achilles in *Iliad* i? Or did she, as some believe, represent a psychological impulse in concrete corporeal form, because the poet lacked the resources to 'put across' the idea of personal motivation any other way?<sup>46</sup> Manifestly non-physical occasions are when death 'appears' to a hero<sup>47</sup>, or courage 'appears' to him in a moment of crisis inspired by a god no doubt<sup>48</sup>. This kind of word usage reveals thought processes in Homer which do not coincide with our own.

So it pays to be careful before detecting actual epiphanies in the many similes in which Ares, Poseidon, Apollo or Hermes appear beside their favourites in battle, supporting them or stirring them up to greater effort and the like<sup>49</sup>. Generally anonymous and unidentified in their intervention, the gods were really an epic way of expressing the hero's own ardour, beside of course offering a convenient poetic tool to advance the plot<sup>50</sup>. The imagery is effective precisely because the Homeric audience would not have been surprised to hear of a god presenting himself in human, animal or bird form. Noemon marvelled at having seen Mentor's double embarking for Pylos together with Telemachus. It must have been a god, because the 'real' Mentor was still in Ithaca the day before<sup>51</sup>. The emphasis was on the divine power to appear spiritually or in any form whatsoever: *σὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν παντὶ ἔῃσχεις*, Odysseus respectfully told Athena, although even he could not always recognize her presence<sup>52</sup>. In other words epiphany, or direct physical confronta-

tion with mortal heroes, was very much a secondary consideration for Homer's Olympian gods. Remember that Socrates criticised them not because they were conceived in human or animal shape, but because of their wizardry in transforming themselves into it, or *making us believe* that they did<sup>53</sup>.

It seems to follow then that, despite much industrious effort by modern scholars<sup>54</sup>. Homeric epiphanies do not turn out to be easily classifiable. A survey of the internal evidence of the poems quite readily establishes that epiphanies were not predictable in manner or form. Nor did there exist any specific occasions like prayer, invocation, sacrifice or similar moments to which epiphanies were confined, or at which they could invariably be expected to occur. Generally the Homeric god intervened in man's affairs directly. Only Zeus preferred to act from afar<sup>55</sup>. Therefore in a sense the gods, if not everpresent, were always nearby, ready to participate in human action, and their arrival or departure could be assumed without detailed description<sup>56</sup>. In fact they became one with a protégé, extending his valour. To an observer such a hero fought like a god, momentarily obliterating the barrier between the two. The poet of course looked at the scene from the opposite, Olympian side: he says that a god fought like a particular prominent hero in the front rank of the battle. But it would be wrong to suppose that the god invariably transferred himself into visible human shape<sup>57</sup>. I believe that on these occasions god merged with man: a particular hero possessed the powers and quality of the god. In other words, god and man performed on the same level.

This particular aspect of divine presence and action emerges clearly from Poseidon's violent *aristeia* in Books xiii-xv of the *Iliad*. Zeus temporarily took his eyes off the battle and was of course otherwise engaged with Hera in Book xiv. This allowed Poseidon to ignore Zeus' veto and fight alongside the Achaeans. His intervention brought about a reversal in their fortunes until his inglorious recall in the next Book<sup>58</sup>. To enliven this brief recovery the poet pulled out all the stops on every register. Cult and craft were brilliantly confused. To acknowledge his Achaean cult at Aegae the god took the staggering detour from his observation post on Samothrace<sup>59</sup> to the Trojan Plain *via* the Corinthian Gulf<sup>60</sup>. His progress was on foot and by car. But before he could assist the

Greeks, he again descended to his cave beneath the water. Both of these cultic elements were irrelevant to the narrative<sup>61</sup>. Once arrived in the actual battle line, however, he shed the marks of his divine station. He may have brandished a magic sword<sup>62</sup>, or shouted like 9000 men<sup>63</sup>, but these poetic exaggerations illustrate his superior rather than divine strength<sup>64</sup>. Achilles' new armour possessed similar magic properties; and his terrible shout could also stop the entire Trojan army in its tracks<sup>65</sup>.

The poet employed the standard vocabulary of epiphanies but without care or conviction. Poseidon appeared as Calchas to the Ajaxes<sup>66</sup>, but soon after as Thoas to king Idomeneus<sup>67</sup>. Then the god anonymously, that is without specific identity, encouraged the Greeks<sup>68</sup>, and finally, with dizzy speed, changed to an old man who held Agamemnon by the hand<sup>69</sup>. Imagery and mechanics creak a little in all this<sup>70</sup>. But the tension between Zeus' and Poseidon's will in this extended passage<sup>71</sup> balanced that between Hector and Poseidon on the human level<sup>72</sup>. Treatment and language are very similar in both scenes and reveal the poet's purpose to reduce the god to human status during the fight<sup>73</sup>. Poseidon's feverish *aristeia* replaced the missing Achilles, but the episode can hardly be counted as a convincing example of divine epiphany. As it happens Poseidon's actions conformed to the usual rules of intervention in human affairs in which the physical presence of the god as a particular Olympian is, to say the least, unnecessary.

The divine power was simply present; or it could be conceived as an extension of the human warrior. For all we know, or the poet seems to care, a god may have communicated with men as a disembodied voice. So Poseidon addressed the Argives, who obeyed without question, and Athena commanded the Ithacans to throw down their weapons<sup>74</sup>. Not uncommonly the poet actually insists that the god only used the voice and not the body of a familiar hero, like Apollo who spoke to Aeneas with the voice of Lycaon<sup>75</sup>. Iris, too, carried a message to Priam at the gates of his palace with the voice of Polites who, as far as the king was aware, should at that moment have been sitting far away on the tomb of Aesyetes and spying on the Greeks<sup>76</sup>. But Priam calmly accepted this paradox which the more rational Aristarchus wanted to obelize. The point is, of course, the communication between god and man without

physical epiphany. Therefore the information a few lines on that Iris also *looked* like Polites<sup>77</sup> was added as an afterthought and hollowly echoed the expected machinery of epiphany without lending it substance.

A god who assumed the exact likeness of a particular hero wished to mislead more often than to communicate with mortals and inspire them. His motives tended to be base or at least less than divine. So Athena deceived the suitors by taking on the full physical form of Mentor's double, τῷ δ' αὐτῷ πάντα ἐῴκει<sup>78</sup>. Apollo, too, resembled Agenor 'in every respect' (πάντα ἔοικώς) in order to trick Achilles at a critical moment for the Trojans. But the actual confrontation between the awesome god and the hero in the next Book, when Apollo revealed his divine nature to the human adversary, is very much a special case and unlike the others<sup>79</sup>: 'Why do you pursue me so swiftly, son of Peleus? I am a god but you are mortal'<sup>80</sup>. Elsewhere such communications did not require physical means, neither voice or body. They could be 'divined', spiritually communicated although the poet may still retain the vocabulary of epiphany. The opening of *Iliad* vii is a case in point. Apollo and Athena agreed to interrupt the fighting by having Hector challenge one of the Greeks to a duel. Helenus, best of the Trojan seers<sup>81</sup>, understood their purpose in his *thymos*, that is, 'not by the outer ear but by his powers as soothsayer'<sup>82</sup>. The ensuing duel allowed a break in the general fighting, as the gods had intended. Both armies sat down to watch. The two gods also stopped, sat and observed the effect of their plan. They mirrored the action, or rather non-action, of the mortal heroes<sup>83</sup>. But their metamorphosis into vultures from the epic point of view senselessly repeated the trappings of epiphany<sup>84</sup>.

It now becomes possible to formulate succinctly what has so far only been a growing suspicion. In the vast majority of instances so-called epiphanies were nothing more than interventions of one kind or another which did not involve any actual *parousia*, or presence. The poet from memory, tradition, and quite simply from his own considerable imagination devised various means of divine revelation whose primary purpose, however, was to heighten the effect of his narrative and extend the range of human action. The Homeric gods have often been explained as imitating human society on

another plane<sup>85</sup>. Their actions reflected those of men but with less dramatic consequences thereby underlining the grievous suffering of their mortal counterparts<sup>86</sup>. In the easy familiarity between the gods and men, which was a common feature of epic poetry<sup>87</sup>, many bridges linked the heroic and Olympian levels. Gods were outsize men and heroes could on occasion rival divine strength. In this context epiphanies, as we understand them, are usually superfluous. In fact they can present awkward theological problems. How to explain the metamorphosis of humanized gods into their mortal images<sup>88</sup>? The Homeric Olympian proceeded to an intervention or epiphany, if you like, in human manner but on an exaggerated scale. His chariot resembled the heroic model but had a supersonic turn of speed. On foot the god used his seven-league boots, or simply flew from place to place, like a bird, or even faster like the speed of thought<sup>89</sup>.

Picture and context are purely epic. Consider Athena's and Hera's journey to the river Simoeis. They travelled by chariot just like any other Homeric character. And, like him, they had forgotten its true function, for when they reached their goal they climbed out and joined the fight on foot<sup>90</sup>. The confusion arose through the protracted history of oral tradition. The weapon of the Bronze Age had become a convenient taxi in the altered methods of fighting in Archaic times<sup>91</sup>. Consequently the misuse of the noble chariot by Athena and Hera firmly places the incident in the same category of Homeric invention. The whole scene, including the irreverent description of the goddesses walking like pigeons, comes close to epic burlesque<sup>92</sup>; but it is unrelated to any one cult or belief of the Greek Bronze or Archaic age<sup>93</sup>.

The participation of Athena and Hera still further supercharged the tremendous epic conflict lifting it beyond that of more ordinary mortals. On numerous other occasions this effect was enhanced by divine metamorphosis into speaking names which personify strength, power, light, noise, and so on. In one scene, for example, Ares presented himself as Akamas<sup>94</sup>, the Thracian chief. But the word *akamas* means 'tireless', 'unwearying' like fire, and aptly symbolized Ares' impact on the battle. Once Hera called to the Argives in the form of brazen-voiced Stentor. The name means 'shout', of course. It was a fairly late personification which had not yet ac-

quired an heroic genealogy in Homer, a point which has troubled some modern commentators on the passage<sup>95</sup>.

Such poetic formations soon became gods in their own right who bestrode the battlefield as personified monsters of war—Eris, Strife, Kydoimos, the Din of Battle, joined the fray with deadly Ker dragging the dead and wounded off the field, her cloak about her shoulders soaked in red blood<sup>96</sup>. The scene, which provided a model for the other poets<sup>97</sup>, occurred on Achilles' shield like the similar tableau on Athena's aegis with its figures of Eris, Alke and Ioke, Attack<sup>98</sup>. But these personifications also materialized in the real battle beside men, or in attendance on more familiar Olympian figures. So Kydoimos reappeared with Ares and Enyo in the front ranks of the Trojans<sup>99</sup>. Another time Strife, with the identical powers of Hera and Athena, called out to the Achaeans and inspired them with courage<sup>100</sup>. Zeus had sent her to the Greek ships holdings in her hand the sign of war, perhaps the *aegis* of Zeus himself<sup>101</sup>.

What did *these* figures look like? The poet signally fails to enlighten us beyond the standard epithets of shameless, deadly, destructive, or attributes like Ker's bloodstained cloak. But again, like the many poetic epiphanies, the effect of the intervention was more important than the appearance of the intervenor. The latter was rarely visualized. Certainly not much before Aeschylus' stage figures of the ghastly winged Erinyes for instance. There is a pre-Hesiodic attempt at mythological genealogy. Eris was Ares' sister<sup>102</sup>, but she remained no less of a symbol, for all that, than Deimos and Phobos with whom she drove both Greeks and Trojans to war at the beginning of the first day of fighting in the *Iliad*<sup>103</sup>. She owed her existence to special poetic effects and lacked human or any other specific shape. If we took her epiphany literally, her appearance would be grotesque. Small in size at first Eris grew to monstrous proportions until her head reached heaven while she strode on earth<sup>104</sup>. The poet obviously felt free to enliven his work without regard for religious sensibilities<sup>105</sup>.

For most readers of the epics, however, the clearest proof of frequent divine visitation is contained in the relationship between a god and his favourite hero. Such divine protective interest is implied in the Achilles/Athena scene in Book i and elsewhere in the *Il-*

*iad* between the goddess and Diomede. Thus a few human favourites saw, and conversed with, their divine protectors in their true identity. This kind of close bond, particularly between Athena and her royal protégés, found even more expression in the *Odyssey*. For example, in the charming scene between the goddess and Odysseus, soon after his eventual return home to Ithaca, there was no attempt by Athena to hide her nature.

It is very tempting to see in this close bond a reflection of the relationship between the Mycenaean king and his goddess<sup>106</sup>. But for Homer communication between divinity and man was still mental more often than physical. The hero assumed divine presence through expectation or previous knowledge. It is significant therefore that Athena said to Odysseus, 'You did not know me before, although I protect you and stand beside you in all your labours'<sup>107</sup>. In other words, Odysseus was aware of her gentle support without actually seeing and recognizing her, οὐ σέ ... ἴδον οὐδ' ἐνόησα<sup>108</sup>. Just so Nestor divined Athena's presence in aid of Telemachus in another episode, although the old man could not see her himself. But he knew that Athena honoured the father Odysseus among the Argives<sup>109</sup>.

Again one has the impression from the context that the poet judged this kind of direct communication and recognition of divine identity as unusual. Hermes, for example, though freely appearing to Priam, nevertheless expressed reluctance at the thought of being seen by Achilles. 'For', as he said, 'it would cause indignation for an immortal god to welcome men directly in this way'. This means that Hermes' message was special and required special means<sup>110</sup>. Odysseus, too, was surprised at seeing Athena so directly, because, he said, it was difficult for men to recognize the goddess face to face, γνῶναι ... ἀντιάσαντι<sup>111</sup>. In her meeting with Diomede we hear that Athena removed the mist from his eyes so that he could tell gods from men<sup>112</sup>. Only then could he say, 'I recognize you, γιγνώσκω σε, goddess, daughter of Zeus'<sup>113</sup>.

It is as if Homer interposed two stages between divine and human dimensions. One purely physical in which a hero could see god, ἰδεῖν. The other involved mental recognition, γνῶναι. Ordinarily in his world, and even in the next, seeing someone and recognizing him were two logically linked steps. Heracles' *eidolon*,

or image, for example, recognized Odysseus in the underworld simply *because* he saw him, the poet tells us<sup>114</sup>. Other spirits of the dead could reestablish communication with the world of the living by the mechanical ritual act of drinking from the sacrificial blood of a black sheep<sup>115</sup>. For man to see a god, however, either in his real form or in disguise, and to recognize his identity were difficult barriers to cross, at least according to Odysseus in his interview with Athena. Aeneas' ability to look directly at Apollo and to recognize him, ἔγνω ἐσάντα ἰδών, was quite exceptional<sup>116</sup>. More usually the god was visible only in his temporary identity<sup>117</sup>.

What qualities then were needed to penetrate the disguise, for, in Odysseus' own words, the gods are not plain to see for everybody<sup>118</sup>? Very often the answer to this question is perfectly ordinary without any hint of mysterious powers. An alert mortal could read the signs, make the necessary deductions, and reach a likely conclusion regarding the divine presence. Telemachus became aware of Athena's presence, φρεσὶν ... νοήσας, when she inspired him with strength and courage in the usual way<sup>119</sup>. But earlier on he had seen her only as Mentès. Given the signs, Telemachus' inference was reasonable. There was no real difference between penetrating divine or human disguise. Thus his skill matched that of Helen say, who could see through Odysseus' disguise on his spying visit to Troy, because she knew of his cunning resourcefulness<sup>120</sup>.

In this way Homer deprived epiphanies of much of the religious value which they might have had. At any rate, they were redundant to the process of comprehending divine presence. When an epiphany did occur, it was by way of an added bonus which could, however, be dramatically as implausible as the chorus in the plot of a fifth century B.C. Attic tragedy. A case in point is Athena's visit to Odysseus in a dream. She arrived in the form of a mortal woman, but Odysseus spoke to her directly as Athena<sup>121</sup>. Evidently he recognized the goddess through his own intuition and was not deceived by the somewhat hollow metamorphosis. Certainly Hector, at the supreme crisis of his life, did not need to see Athena in order to recognize her malignant presence, ἔγνω ... ἐνὶ φρεσὶ<sup>122</sup>. Epiphany and metamorphosis were the device of the poet alone to lend divine strength to heroic enterprise and to humanize the gods.

Once or twice in the *Odyssey* an added element of magic coloured the poetic epiphany. Athena appeared holding a wand with which she changed Odysseus' appearance<sup>123</sup>. On another occasion Athena came to Odysseus like a phantom. She was seen by no one else of those present except his dogs who scurried off in terror. The apparition and its effect recall the vulgar superstitious fear of powerful and often malignant daemonic beings which threaten men at every turn or move<sup>124</sup>.

At the other end of the scale, however, epiphanies definitely played a part in the moral development of the Homeric idea of divinity. Episodes like Apollo's direct confrontation with Achilles at the beginning of Book xxii in the *Iliad*<sup>125</sup> and with Diomedes in Book v<sup>126</sup> already contained the seeds of later lyric, notably Pindaric, religious ideas. Evidently the gods were growing into more remote absolute powers worlds apart from the 'breed of earthly men'. There was some way to go yet towards such novel theology, however, and Apollo even in these powerful scenes seems still very 'human' and very epic<sup>127</sup>.

We should then lay aside any notion of Homeric epiphanies as viable theological concepts. Nor can we any more suppose that in the epic context men needed special powers to see the gods. According to Odysseus, it was the gods' power to take on different shapes which made them so elusive to human perception<sup>128</sup>, and because they move too fast for us to follow<sup>129</sup>. The poet can bear him out with his elaborate description of rapid Olympian progress. We saw examples of this earlier on which conformed to the usual Homeric concept of the gods as mirror images of human society. Human standards naturally also applied in Homeric accounts of divine metamorphosis and epiphany. So it becomes necessary not to read too much into the outward signs of epiphany, however impressively they may be presented by the poet. Shining brightness, great beauty and the like often heralded a divine arrival<sup>130</sup>. Achilles recognized Athena by the fiery brightness of her eyes<sup>131</sup>. Aphrodite betrayed her presence to Helen by her shining eyes, too, as well as by her beautiful neck and breast, although the goddess manifested herself in the likeness of an old woman<sup>132</sup> and remained invisible to Paris<sup>133</sup>.

Light did in fact constitute an important sign of divine birth and epiphany in Greek myth. Zeus' birth in a Cretan cave was signalled annually by a flash of fire<sup>134</sup>; and at Eleusis, at the climax of the celebration of the mysteries, a brilliant light of flames from the *anaktoron* marked the birth of a child by Potnia<sup>135</sup>. But much of this intense connection between light, fire and the actual advent of a god was lost in Homeric epic, although memory persisted to some extent<sup>136</sup>. In the *Iliad* images of gleaming light, or brightly burning fire, were not confined to the world of gods. The poet in this way was wont to signal some extraordinary power or exertion which could be that of a mortal hero. It is interesting to trace this motif in narrative and simile. The irresistible prowess of Achilles, for example<sup>137</sup>, is symbolically illustrated by the light which shone from his armour casting terror into Priam like the evil burning brightness of the autumn star<sup>138</sup>. As Achilles' superhuman *aristeia* continued to escalate, and the very Scamander rose up against him, only fire could tame the raging stream and save Achilles at the climax of the human battle before even the Olympian gods themselves became involved<sup>139</sup>.

In the dramatic removal of arms, prior to the killing of the suitors, Telemachus conjectured from the brightness, which filled the hall, that a god must be present. Odysseus agreed: 'this is the way of the Olympian gods', he said<sup>140</sup>. But again the epiphany was humanized: the light of the burning flame did not emanate from Athena herself but from her Archaic golden lamp<sup>141</sup>. Far from suggesting the awesome mysterious world of the gods in contrast to that of men, the homely image of the goddess with light in hand reassured the two and showed them that assistance was close at hand.

Homer's gods were human but more beautiful, and indeed larger than life. In the siege scene on Achilles' shield Athena's and Ares' superior size and beauty provide the iconographic means of distinguishing them from their human followers<sup>142</sup>. So the lesser Ajax recognized Poseidon's presence by his presumably outsize legs and feet<sup>143</sup>. He was quite right to confide to his namesake that the gods are *arignotoi*, that is easily recognized<sup>144</sup>. Nor did this sentiment seriously contradict the opposite view held by Odysseus that the gods are not plain for all to see. Only both heroes spoke from

different points of view: Ajax could easily spot the larger, better, or more beautiful than human foot, while Athena's great speed outstripped man's normal power of vision. Since epic heroes could aim for, and temporarily attain, such superhuman powers themselves, they, too, may be mistaken for gods. Hence Odysseus' beauty caused Telemachus to avert his eyes in fear lest his father was indeed a god<sup>145</sup>. A chosen few at special moments could vie with the Olympians in strength or loudness of voice, even<sup>146</sup>. You may object that the poet was merely being careless in his use of simile in order to extol a particular mortal. But what is significant in the comparison is Homer's human standard of measure. For him the gods are like men and man himself is truly *theoeides*<sup>147</sup>.

I originally set out on this quest because of some confusion regarding the poet's handling of divine epiphany. But there was little reason to doubt that the overall manner of divine manifestation in Homer had not been conceived as a truly religious phenomenon. It turns out, however, that, with few exceptions, Homeric epiphanies can best be described as picturesque extensions of the more usual working of divine will. To that extent epiphanies were poetic invention, although it seems distinctly odd that such a mode of divine intervention could be generally accepted without being based on religious faith<sup>148</sup>. Indeed, natural phenomena and other visible manifestations of superior power, which Homer converted to agencies signalling the immediate presence of humanized gods, do suggest that the poet utilized extra-epic belief. The extremely widespread popular notion that gods may visit this world disguised as strangers may well have provided one model to work from<sup>149</sup>. In their very awkwardness in the complex machinery of divine intervention, epiphanies must surely have moved within the bounds of what was considered possible by the Homeric audience. That is the concept of a god's 'physical' appearance should not have offended the listener's religious sensibilities<sup>150</sup>. We may recall that Athena visited a feast for Poseidon ἐναργής, that is in real form, and that once she attended Nestor's sacrifice in her honour<sup>151</sup>. Generally, however, Homer was at pains to cover his tracks. His descriptions of epiphanies therefore tend to lack precision, and he was prone to sacrifice divine credibility to dramatic effect. In short, the epic poet's own theology governed all aspects of the workings of the Olympian gods.

Whenever a god appears on the scene in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* it is therefore the poet who announces the arrival and not a member of the cast, not even a priest officiating at a ceremony or sacrifice<sup>152</sup>. Both epics share the same system of divine visitation, regardless of their dates of composition. We are thus moving in one common epic world which lay far in the past. Its heroes were greater than the men of the poet's own age<sup>153</sup> and on more familiar terms with the gods. It was not a world sunk in myth like that of the Phaeacians, Cyclops and Giants whom the gods visited regularly during sacrifice, and with whom they dined sitting beside them at the same table<sup>154</sup>. But Homer's heroes existed somewhere in between the two: many of them were the sons and grandsons of the gods<sup>155</sup>. This Homeric tradition of human and divine *perioche* continued throughout Greek and even survived in Roman epic<sup>156</sup>. In such a world direct epiphany would seem a natural means of communication, and yet even here it remained merely a secondary method of expressing divine will.

If we are right in supposing that Homeric epiphanies were an extraordinary and largely poetic means of divine intervention, then it becomes important to re-examine the orthodox view regarding direct divine manifestations in Mycenaean religion. Unless we are to believe in the unlikely thesis that Homeric epic broke away root and branch from all preceding religious ideas in Greece, some shadow of doubt must surely fall on the many scenes in Minoan/Mycenaean art which appear to depict the physical epiphany of a deity in human, bird or animal form<sup>157</sup>. In the light of Homer's enormous influence on later thought and literature, it would be even more imperative to look again at later poets and practices<sup>158</sup>. The pictures of contemporary painters realistically reflect the state of affairs at the time, namely an increasingly remote family of gods<sup>159</sup>.

It seems that the Greek view of epiphanies involved 'double standards'. On the one hand in post-Homeric times epiphanies were taken for granted, but on the other invariably conceived to occur in epic terms. The paradox can be quite blatant in the Homeric Hymns which were after all the 'Adventlieder' of particular gods *par excellence*. It was, however, the literary epic type of epiphany which was refined and developed by the poets of the Hymns and

then passed on to later ages. Gods were distinguished by weight and size, like Poseidon's feet which gave him away in the *Iliad*. Beauty, fragrance, and above all shining brightness marked out the advent of the still only too human Olympian<sup>160</sup>. In the great Hymn to Apollo, for example, the god's appearance is described with extraordinary poetic verve, but without much semblance of actuality, from the very moment that he leapt aboard the Cretan ship in dolphin shape<sup>161</sup>. The climax of the epiphany was the god's arrival at his temple in Delphi<sup>162</sup>,

'Thence Lord Apollo rushed from the ship  
like a star on mid-day. Many sparks  
kept streaming away from him and light reached up to heaven.  
The far-darting god entered the secret chamber of his temple through his  
precious tripods.'

The scene is a poor imitation of Athena's epiphany in *Iliad* iv, and had by now lost the impact it possessed in the original version in Homer describing the divine descent which was seen by men in the form of a portent<sup>163</sup>.

Homer's poetically contrived epiphanies determined their subsequent treatment in literature, in the same way that his conception of the gods' physical appearance provided the model for the Greek sculptor, although Homer himself had no word for statue in his vocabulary<sup>164</sup>. The idea of divine epiphany as a means of religious revelation was out of the ordinary for Homer and consequently less familiar to the mainstream of official Greek religion. Metamorphosis and divine epiphany were reserved for cults in other areas, in the service of Dionysus<sup>165</sup>, or in his mysteries and those of Demeter. Dionysus' epiphany occupied the poet of the Hymn in his honour from its very first lines<sup>166</sup>. But we are moving into another world which extended beyond the reflection of ancient myth and Homeric gods<sup>167</sup>, and well beyond the scope of the present study.

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. Eust. on *Il.* p. 1089; Xen. *Cyrop.* viii 7 21; Plato *Apol.* 39c.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. A on *Il.* xvi 835 with reference to Artemo of Miletus.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* xxiii 80-81. Cf. my *Death, Fate and the Gods*<sup>2</sup>, London 1967, 200.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the case of Aristaeus of Proconessus who was seen in Marmora and Cyzicus at the same moment of time, Herod. iv 14-15.

<sup>5</sup> In Xen. *Mem.* i 1 19; cf. i 4 18. See also the similar sentiments of the Spartan Clearchus in Xen. *Anab.* ii 5 7.

<sup>6</sup> See the article 'Das Auftreten der Götter in den Büchern 1-4 der Odyssee' by O. Jørgensen in *Hermes* xxxix (1904) 357-382, with special reference to the four books of Odysseus' narrative; cf. my *Death, Fate* 181; 189; 300. See also W. Bröcker, *Theologie der Ilias (Wissenschaft & Gegenwart: Geisteswiss. Reihe 55/56)*, Frankfurt 1975, 21. However, *Od.* x 278, appears to be an exception to Jørgensen's rule.

<sup>7</sup> ii 53.

<sup>8</sup> *Il.* 351. On Greek prayer ritual see Nilsson, *M.M.R.* <sup>2</sup> 281-2; *Gesch.* i <sup>3</sup> 159; W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart 1977, 128.

<sup>9</sup> *Il.* i 359-62.

<sup>10</sup> *Il.* i 44-47.

<sup>11</sup> 48-49.

<sup>12</sup> 47.

<sup>13</sup> *Il.* v 850-61; 864-74.

<sup>14</sup> *Il.* iv 75-8.

<sup>15</sup> 82.

<sup>16</sup> *Il.* xvii 551-5.

<sup>17</sup> Above n. 13.

<sup>18</sup> *Il.* xvii 547-50.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Leaf's commentary *ad loc.* 'The point of the simile may be given thus—"lurid as is the rainbow-cloud, so lurid was the cloud in which Athena wrapped herself"'

<sup>20</sup> *Il.* iii 449.

<sup>21</sup> *Il.* v 87.

<sup>22</sup> *Il.* iii 219.

<sup>23</sup> *Il.* vii 96-115.

<sup>24</sup> *Il.* i 194-98.

<sup>25</sup> The subject has been most recently discussed by F. Dirlmeier, *Die Vogelgestalt homerischer Götter (Sitzber. Heidelberg 1967, 2)*; Cf. A. Heubeck, *Die Homerische Frage (Ertr. d. Forsch.)*, Darmstadt 1974, 187-8; *Gymnasium* 89 (1982) 439-440; H. Bannert, 'Zur Vogelgestalt der Götter bei Homer', *Wiener Studien* xxii (1978) 29-42; H. Erbse, 'Homerische Götter in Vogelgestalt', *Hermes* cviii (1980) 259-74.

<sup>26</sup> See Nilsson, *M.M.R.* <sup>2</sup> 330-40; *Gesch.* i <sup>3</sup> 290-2; F. Matz, *Göttererscheinung und Kultbild im minoischen Kreta*, Wiesbaden 1958, *passim*; B. Dietrich, *The Origins of Greek Religion*, Berlin 1974, 171; Burkert, *Gr. Rel.* 78.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Dietrich, 'Views of Homeric Gods and Religion', *Numen* xxvi (1979) 148-9 and n. 100.

<sup>28</sup> *Od.* i 322, *Od.* iii 373. According to Eustathius (1472), Nestor marvelled not at the epiphany, for he had seen many, but at Athena's support of young Telemachus. The form and manner of her departure seem to me to draw from the very ancient belief in birds as carriers, or actual manifestations, of divine power. Erbse, *Hermes* (1980) 259-74, similarly argues for traces of religious tradition in Homeric bird epiphanies. According to him, however, the poet in these instances made use of an early concept of divine theriomorphic figures. For identification of god and bird in early Indo-European thought see A. Schnapp-Gourbillon, *Lions, héros, masques. Les représentations de l'animal chez Homère*, Paris 1981, 185-90.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. *Od.* i 105; 320; 323; iii 12-13; 330; 370-1 *etc.*

<sup>30</sup> *Il.* xix 352-4.

<sup>31</sup> So undoubtedly the description of Apollo's flight to earth from Mt. Ida, like the swift hawk, the fastest of all birds, *Il.* xv 237. A similar impression is created by comparing Hermes skimming over the sea to the flight of a cormorant, *Od.* v 51.

<sup>32</sup> *Il.* xv 80-3.

<sup>33</sup> *Od.* v 337-8; 352. Line 337 is generally rejected as having been modelled on 352. But see Schnapp-Gourbillon, *Lions* 185-6 for a different view.

<sup>34</sup> *Il.* v 778-9. Even Bannert concedes this example to the sceptics, *Wien. Stud.* (1978) 29-42.

<sup>35</sup> *Il.* xvi 582.

<sup>36</sup> *Od.* xxii 467-9.

<sup>37</sup> *Od.* xii 418 = xiv 290.

<sup>38</sup> *Il.* xiii 62.

<sup>39</sup> *Il.* xiii 70-2. It is not quite clear whether ῥῥυῖα (71) means 'tracks' (*Il.* v 193), 'gait' or 'feet' here. (Cf. Verg. *Aen.* i 405). See Leaf's discussion *ad loc.* Eustathius' comments are not very helpful.

<sup>40</sup> *Il.* vii 59.

<sup>41</sup> *Il.* vii 44.

<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the scene with Hypnos on Mt. Ida should be explained in the same way, *Il.* xiv 286-91.

<sup>43</sup> Few scholars agree with the view that divine epiphanies in the Homeric Hymns and epic were directly linked with religious practice, D. Bremer, 'Die Epiphanie und Platons Gottesbegriff' *Religion und Geistesgeschichte* xxvii (1975) 5. Such bird epiphanies no doubt conjured up old memories of popular belief, cf. Kullmann, *op. cit.* 91-2 (see n. 54). Erbse supposed a long distant religious background which the poet, however, used for his own purposes without any religious feeling, *Hermes* (1980) 259-74. For a connection of gods with mantic birds see L. Bodson, *Hiera Zoia. Contributions à l'étude de la place de l'animal dans la religion grecque ancienne*, Brussels 1975, 95-8. In the famous *Dios Apate* Sleep watches unseen from a tree and in the shape of a bird which gods and men call by different names, *Il.* xiv 289-91 (cf. above n. 42.). Lavoie, 'Sur Quelques Métamorphoses Divines dans l'Iliade', *Ant. Class.* xxxix (1970) 30 and n. 89, makes the interesting suggestion that the invading Greeks brought with them their own name for the bird. The word's history therefore would be equally ancient.

<sup>44</sup> χελιδόνι εἰκέλη ἄντην, *Od.* xxii 240.

<sup>45</sup> Note 39 above. Nestor, too, could marvel at the sight of the goddess flying off as a sea-eagle on another occasion, *Od.* iii 373, ὅπως ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι.

<sup>46</sup> See *Numen* xxvi (1979) 143 and n. 77; cf. O. Tsagarakis, *Nature and Background of Major Concepts of Divine Power in Homer*, Amsterdam 1977, VIII. The last view has been put forward by E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 14 and B. Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, transl. by T. G. Rosenmayer, Harvard U. P. 1953 (Harper Torchbooks ed. x 1960), 31. I think this explanation underrates Homer's refinement of thought and language.

<sup>47</sup> *Il.* xvi 787.

<sup>48</sup> ἀρετή ... φαίνεται, e.g. *Il.* xxiii 374-5.

<sup>49</sup> *Il.* v 604 (Ares); xiii 357; xiv 136 (Poseidon); xvii 323 (Apollo); xxiv 347 (Hermes) etc.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Kullmann's explanation of such scenes which, he also believes, did not involve real epiphanies. For him the divine power manifested itself in the sounds of battle itself, *op. cit.* 104.

<sup>51</sup> *Od.* iv 654-6.

<sup>52</sup> *Od.* xiii 313.

<sup>53</sup> Plato *Rep.* ii 380 D.

<sup>54</sup> For a collection of instances of Homeric epiphanies with discussion and classification into categories see especially F. Pfister, 'Epiphanie' *PW Suppl.* IV (1924) 277-323; L. Weniger, 'Theophanien, altgriechische Götteradvente', *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* xxii (1924) 16-57; F. Robert, *Homère*, Paris 1950, 33; W. F. Otto, *Theopania*, Hamburg 1956; W. Kullmann, *Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias*, Berlin 1956, 83-111; E. Pax, 'Epiphanie' *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* v (1962) 832-909.

<sup>55</sup> Kullmann, *op. cit.* 89.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. H. Schrade, *Götter und Menschen bei Homer*, Stuttgart 1951, 144, 'Der Gott ist einfach da und handelt'.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. the comments by F. Chapouthier in the discussion of P. Chantraine's paper, 'Le Divin et les Dieux chez Homère' in *Fondation Hardt, La Notion du Divin (Entr. sur l'Ant. Class. I)*, Geneva 1952, 84-5.

<sup>58</sup> *Il.* xv 218-9.

<sup>59</sup> *Il.* xiii 10-31.

<sup>60</sup> Poseidon received offerings in Aegae and Helike, *Il.* viii 203. Pindar curiously seems equally confused about the geography of Aegae, *Nem.* v 37. Several places were called Aegae. Poseidon also had a sanctuary at Euboean Aegae, according to Hesychius (cf. Sikes and Allen, *The Homeric Hymns*, on *Hymn Apollo* 32). All of them would have been inconvenient to Poseidon on the present occasion, to say the least. On the cult see F. Schachermeyr, *Poseidon und die Entstehung des griechischen Götterglaubens*, Munich 1950, 21; 34.

<sup>61</sup> Caves and water—primarily the fresh water of springs, however—were part of Poseidon's cult in Laconian Boeae, for example, and Taenaron, Paus. iii 23.2; 25.8; cf. Schachermeyr, *ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Il.* xiv 385. Usually magic staff or wand, xiii 59; cf. xxiv 343 (Hermes); *Od.* xiii 429; xvi 172 (Athena, below p. 67 and n. 123); 238 (Circe).

<sup>63</sup> *Il.* xiv 148.

<sup>64</sup> Apart from his magic staff, *Il.* xiii 59.

<sup>65</sup> *Il.* xviii 214-21. Athena's separate shout underlines this point.

<sup>66</sup> *Il.* xiii 45.

<sup>67</sup> *Il.* xiii 216-8.

<sup>68</sup> *Il.* xiii 357; xiv 364-77.

<sup>69</sup> Line 136.

<sup>70</sup> *Il.* xiii 62; 66-72.

<sup>71</sup> *Il.* 345-60.

<sup>72</sup> *Il.* xiv 389-91.

<sup>73</sup> Compare *Il.* xiii 358-9 with xiv 389-90. ἔριδος ... καὶ ... πολέμοιο πείραρ ... τάνυσσαν (Zeus and Poseidon). ἔριδα πτολέμοιο τάνυσσαν (Poseidon and Hector). See also Leaf's comment on the second passage which he believes to be un-Homeric in sentiment. Diomedes's confrontation with Aphrodite and Ares seems to be similar in purpose. With Athena's help the hero tried to exceed human limitations (*Il.* v 432-42). He saw and wounded Aphrodite (334-42) and Ares (850-61). But both are lesser gods (e.g. 348-51; 897-8) and reduced to the same level as Diomedes (e.g. 883-4).

<sup>74</sup> *Il.* xiv 364-78; *Od.* xxiv 530-5.

<sup>75</sup> *Il.* xx 81-2. We might compare Eur. *Hipp.* 85-6. (The hero addresses Artemis) σοὶ καὶ ξύνειμι καὶ λόγοις σ' ἀμείβομαι, κλύων μὲν αὐδὴν, ὄμμα δ' οὐχ ὄρων τὸ σόν, or Ajax to Athena in Soph. *Aj.* 15-16, ὦ φθέγμ' Ἀθάνας ... ὥς εὐμαθὲς σου, καὶ ἄποπτος ἦς, ὅμως φώνημ' ἀκούω καὶ ξυναρπάζω φρενὶ ...

- <sup>76</sup> *Il.* ii 791-4.
- <sup>77</sup> *Il.* ii 795.
- <sup>78</sup> *Od.* iv 654.
- <sup>79</sup> *Il.* xxi 600; xxii 7-13.
- <sup>80</sup> Athena's disguise as Deiphobus to assist in the killing of Hector falls between the two extremes of divine intervention and actual epiphany. She is present to pick up and return Achilles' spear, but Hector fails to see her. He merely deduces or 'recognizes' Athena's intervention, *Il.* xxii 277; 296.
- <sup>81</sup> *Il.* vi 76.
- <sup>82</sup> Leaf on *Il.* vii 44.
- <sup>83</sup> *Il.* vii 65-6.
- <sup>84</sup> See above<sup>1</sup> p. 58.
- <sup>85</sup> E.g. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i<sup>3</sup> 219; 368-74.
- <sup>86</sup> W. Burkert, *Rhein. Mus.* (1960) 140; H. Fränkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*<sup>2</sup>, Munich 1962; A. Lesky, 'Homeros' *PW* Suppl. XI (1967) 47; Bröcker, *Theol. d. Ilias*, 59-60. Most recently M. Davies proposed to refine the theory in 'The Judgement of Paris', *JHS* ci (1981) 56-62.
- <sup>87</sup> Cf. Pfister 'Epiphany' *PW* Suppl. IV 283.
- <sup>88</sup> *Il.* xxi 290 accordingly is very awkward in view of 285 and was 'athetized' by Aristarchus. Even more contrived than the Thetis scene in Book i seems to be Scamander's appearance before Achilles 'in human shape' while he nevertheless spoke 'from the depth of his flood', *Il.* xxi 213.
- <sup>89</sup> *Il.* xv 80-3.
- <sup>90</sup> *Il.* 768-79.
- <sup>91</sup> On the proper use of the chariot see G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer*, Cambridge 1962, 39; 124-5; 141; 189-90.
- <sup>92</sup> *Il.* v 778-9.
- <sup>93</sup> For other examples of divine travel in Homer see Kullmann, *D. Wirken. d. Götter* 91-3.
- <sup>94</sup> *Il.* v 462.
- <sup>95</sup> *Il.* v 785; e.g. Schol. A, cf. Lavoie, *Ant. Class.* 39 (1970) 18-9 and n. 56.
- <sup>96</sup> *Il.* xviii 535-40.
- <sup>97</sup> E.g. *Scut. Heracl.* 156.
- <sup>98</sup> *Il.* v 740.
- <sup>99</sup> *Il.* v 592-3 translating ἔχουσα as 'having as her attendant'.
- <sup>100</sup> *Il.* xi 3-14.
- <sup>101</sup> τέρας πολέμοιο, which Wilamowitz identifies with the powers of Zeus' *aegis*, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*<sup>3</sup>, Darmstadt 1959, i 29, n.l.
- <sup>102</sup> *Il.* iv 441. Compare the allegorized Prayers in Phoenix' speech in *Il.* ix 502 who are described as the daughters of Zeus.
- <sup>103</sup> *Il.* iv 440. See Burkert, *Gr. Rel.* 286-8, on the difficult history of the personification of abstract concepts in Greek religion. The Homeric use of such concepts falls outside the religious, cultic context.
- <sup>104</sup> *Il.* iv 442-3. Cf. Kullmann, *Götter* 103-4.
- <sup>105</sup> Essentially the same applies, I believe, to the intervention of Xanthus the horse (*Il.* xix 404) and particularly that of the river Scamander in his quarrel with Achilles. Both are scenes of supernatural divine confrontation with Achilles. But despite a vague religious background (see my 'Xanthus' Prediction' in *Acta Classica* vii (1964) 9-24), they powerfully introduced a moment of crisis in the narrative. The Battle of the River is dramatically original and effective but purely poetic, and its scenes of epiphany, *Il.* xxi 213; 285; 290 (cf. n. 88; 121; 151), are confused. In a

way the episode served as prelude to the notorious Theomachy in the same Book, the undignified quarrel of the Olympians. Nor do the two second-hand legendary accounts throw much light on the workings of epic epiphanies. These are Boreas' metamorphosis into a horse and that of Poseidon into the river Enipeus. The first forms part of Aeneas' untimely and tedious genealogical past (*Il.* xx 224), and the other belongs to Tyro's history in the *Necyia* (*Od.* xi 241-2). Both are strictly extra-epic occasions.

<sup>106</sup> Nilsson, *Gesch.* i<sup>3</sup>, 347; 371-2.

<sup>107</sup> *Od.* xiii 299-302.

<sup>108</sup> Line 318.

<sup>109</sup> *Od.* iii 377-9.

<sup>110</sup> *Il.* xxiv 463-4. The words *νεμεσσητόν* and *ἀγαπάξμεν* with *θεόν* as subject can also be translated as, 'it would cause jealousy for a god to favour a mortal' (cf. Leaf, Lattimore *etc.*). Hermes was most likely to be a 'companion to men' by virtue of his office as guide and messenger to the gods, *σοὶ ... φίλτατόν ἐστιν/ἀνδρὶ ἐταιρίσσαι*, *Il.* xxiv 334-5. The same may be said of Iris' 'Begegnung' with Priam in the course of this episode, *Il.* xxiv 169-70 and 223. Both Hermes and Iris therefore acted as messengers for their 'principal' Zeus who wished to lead Priam to Achilles in order to bring about a reconciliation between the two. In a sense the messengers were mere intermediaries between Zeus and men. Priam's fear, *Il.* xxiv 170, was inspired by the occasion and by the thought of the task ahead of him rather than by any awesome divine appearance of Iris. Later in this episode the king's reaction at Hermes' appearance was even more violent. Priam stood speechless with terror, his knees weak and his hair standing on end, 358-60, although Hermes was disguised as a young prince. Nevertheless their high standing in relation to mortal heroes guaranteed the accuracy of their report. One might well compare Agamemnon's dream which had also been sent by Zeus for a special purpose. Nestor felt that his position as senior king also proved the veracity of Agamemnon's report, *Il.* ii 80-2. In fact *Il.* ii 80 = xxiv 222 (although Nestor's speech was rejected by Aristarchus and has been doubted by modern editors like Leaf).

<sup>111</sup> *Od.* xiii 312-3.

<sup>112</sup> *Il.* v 127.

<sup>113</sup> *Il.* v 815. Cf. Venus lifting the cloud from Aeneas' vision in Verg. *Aen.* ii 604-6, *...omnem...tuenti...tibi...nubem eripiam*. Burkert points out to me that Diomedes was himself an immortal god in fact and his name, exceptionally for Homer, is theophoric.

<sup>114</sup> *Od.* xi 615, Heracles' *eidolon*. The 'real' Heracles was in heaven, 602.

<sup>115</sup> *Od.* xi 390; 471.

<sup>116</sup> *Il.* xvii 334.

<sup>117</sup> E.g. *Od.* i 113, Telemachus can see Athena but does not recognize her.

<sup>118</sup> *Od.* xvi 161; x 573-4.

<sup>119</sup> *Od.* i 322 = *φρεσὶ .... ἔγνω*, 420.

<sup>120</sup> *Od.* iv 244-50.

<sup>121</sup> *Od.* xx 37. *Il.* xxi 285-90 would seem to be a very similar case. Poseidon and Athena appeared to Achilles 'like mortal men in body', but they address him in their divine shape or identity.

<sup>122</sup> *Il.* xxii 296.

<sup>123</sup> *Od.* xiii 429; xvi 172. Cf. Poseidon's magic sword, above p. 61, n. 62.

<sup>124</sup> *Od.* xvi 162. On this daemon see my *Death, Fate and the Gods*, 307-22. Daemons flitted about as birds (G. Weicker, *Der Seelenvogel*, Leipzig 1902, 37). Lucian speaks of daemons and spirits of the dead which roam the earth and can ap-

pear to anyone. They belong to the ghost stories of his *Philopseudes* 29 p. 56. According to Hesiod, *W & D* 252-5, such daemons were invisible and wrapped in mist. A similar notion surely lay behind the suitors' fear, *Od.* 17 485-7, that gods were in the habit of visiting this world disguised as beggars and strangers. There was not much between these gods and Hesiod's daemons. Professor Burkert kindly points out to me that in the religions of many peoples gods are accustomed to come to this world in the guise of strangers. Cf. the instances of divine visitation in the *Old Testament*, e.g. *Gen.* 19: 1-9; 12: 7; 17: 1. On the other hand, popular reaction to Paul's miraculous healing of the cripple in Lystra (*Acts* 14: 11-13) suggests that, while conceivable, epiphanies of Olympians had not occurred before in living memory. Zeus' priest in Lystra obviously knew his Homer well. Nevertheless Kullmann's view (*Götter* 96) seems extreme, 'Es scheint mir auch für die homerische Zeit undenkbar, dass im täglichen Leben jemand die naive Frage an einen Fremden richtete, ob er ein Gott sei oder ein Mensch'. The concept of such visitations was wholly distasteful to Plato who regarded them as no less blasphemous than the idea of the Olympian Hera collecting alms in the guise of a priestess, *Rep.* ii, 381 d-e.

<sup>125</sup> *Il.* xxii 7-20.

<sup>126</sup> *Il.* v 440.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*<sup>2</sup>, Engl. transl. London 1966, 67; Dietrich, *Numen* xxvi (1979) 139.

<sup>128</sup> *Od.* xiii 313.

<sup>129</sup> *Od.* x 573.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Burkert, *Griech. Rel.* 289.

<sup>131</sup> *Il.* i 104; xxi 415.

<sup>132</sup> *Il.* iii 396-7; 386. Aristarchus therefore rejected 396-418, but cf. a similar situation in *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 101 & 159.

<sup>133</sup> Compare Telemachus' failure to see Athena, 'because the gods do not appear to everyone', *Od.* xvi 161.

<sup>134</sup> *Ant. Lib.* 19 (in Second Book of Boios on *Ornithogony*); cf. Nilsson, *Gesch.* i<sup>3</sup> 321.

<sup>135</sup> Hippol., *Ref.* v 8 40. For further references and variants see Burkert, *Homo Necans*, Berlin 1972, 318-9; N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford 1974, 27; 318-20.

<sup>136</sup> D. Bremer, *Ztschrift. Rel. Geistesgesch.* xxvii (1975) 2-6, argues for a much stronger survival of religious tradition in Homer and the Homeric Hymns in this respect. His case concerning early 'photomorphic' epiphanies in Greek belief becomes overstated as soon as it is applied to epic, 5-6. On Apollo's epithets Phaenops and Periphas in the *Iliad* as evidence of an early connection with the Sun, see Lavoie, *Ant. Class.* (1970) 18-25.

<sup>137</sup> E.g. *Il.* 250-4.

<sup>138</sup> *Il.* xix 374-6; xxii 25-32. 'The star that goes forth in harvest time' (27), whose rays 'shine...in the darkness of night' (28). The poet was concerned with the connection of brightness with Achilles' superhuman power and thus disregarded the astronomical fact that Sirius was seen at night only in winter. Cf. Leaf's commentary *ad loc.* Cf. Matthew Arnold describing Rustum's spear in *Sohrab and Rustum* with an eye to this passage: 'whose fiery point now in his mail'd right hand blazed bright and baleful, like that autumn star, the baleful sign of fevers....' Diomedes' *aristeia* is similarly heralded by the bright light from his armour and person, *Il.* v 4-8.

<sup>139</sup> *Il.* xxi 362-7.

<sup>140</sup> *Od.* xix 39-40; 43.

<sup>141</sup> *Od.* xix 34. The lamp was probably a 7th century B. C. model, unless of course it was a survival from before the 11th century, Kirk, *Homer* 185.

<sup>142</sup> *Il.* xviii 516-9. Cf. Leaf's comments p. 608, Append. I, p. 608. The poet had an actual model in mind in which the two gods were καλὼ καὶ μεγάλῳ ... ὥς τε θεῶ περ, like two gods'!

<sup>143</sup> *Il.* xiii 70-1.

<sup>144</sup> Line 72.

<sup>145</sup> *Od.* xvi 179-83.

<sup>146</sup> E.g. *Il.* iii 158; *Od.* xvii 37 = xix 54.

<sup>147</sup> See Odysseus' charming appeal to Nausicaa, *Od.* vi 149-57. Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv 78-8 for the same Homeric sentiment. For a detailed discussion of this and similar words like θεῖος, ἀντίθεος, ἰσόθεος, ἀρχιθεός etc. in *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and the *Hymns* see D. Roloff, *Gottähnlichkeit, Vergöttlichung und Erhöhung zu seligem Leben*, Berlin 1970, 3-37. 'Wie ihre Leibesgrösse das menschliche Mass überragt, so ist auch ihre Schönheit bloss eine dem Menschen (hier dem Heros) gegenüber gesteigerte' (17).

<sup>148</sup> This last point was made to me personally by Prof. Burkert. On poetic invention see also Kullmann, *Götter* 96-7; Pax, 'Epiphanie' in *RAC* v (1962) 839. For the view of Dodds and Snell that intervention and epiphany (secondary to intervention, Dodds) were the primitive epic way of expressing personal motivation see above p. 59 and n. 46, cf. Heubeck, *Hom. Frage* 189-91, with further modern literature on this question, and Dietrich, *Numen* (1979) 142-3. Snell feels that the concept of divine intervention must be old, since the gods' actions did not get the poet out of his difficulties.

<sup>149</sup> Above n. 124.

<sup>150</sup> For a more sceptical view see n. 148. Wilamowitz, *Glaube* i<sup>3</sup> 22, 'Im alten Epos kann jede solche Szene Erfindung des Dichters sein, aber sie war nur möglich, weil der Glaube bestand.' Conversely it is easy to overstate the religious content of Homeric epiphanies, Tsagarakis, *Nature and Background* 42.

<sup>151</sup> *Od.* iii 420; 435. It is another question whether her real form was human, outsize human, or something else, cf. the passage in *Il.* xxi 285-90.

<sup>152</sup> Pax, *RAC* V (1962) 840; F. Schachermeyr, *Griechische Geschichte*, 1960, 92-3.

<sup>153</sup> E.g. *Il.* xii 445-50.

<sup>154</sup> *Od.* vii 201-3.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Roloff, *Gottähnlichkeit*, 102-3.

<sup>156</sup> Pfister, 'Epiphanie' *PW* Suppl. iv, 284.

<sup>157</sup> Some scenes in Minoan art and features of architecture, such as balustrade and raised platform, in shrines in Knossos and elsewhere may suggest contrived, i.e. enacted, epiphanies in the course of ritual. This theory has been proposed by R. Hägg in a recent Mycenaean Seminar at the London Institute of Classical Studies (17th November 1982).

<sup>158</sup> Weniger collects and discusses the evidence, with rather too optimistic conclusions, in *AfR* (1924) 16-57.

<sup>159</sup> In the sixth century B. C. Attic vase painters occasionally depicted Olympian figures next to their heroes. Individual gods were shown as attending a sacrifice in their honour. Model and context were heroic epic as a rule. The painters' tableaux recall the special position of privileged heroes in Homer, cf. *Od.* iii 420; 435. But by the end of the archaic period, on the early red-figure Attic vases, the gods became more remote. They now preferred the company of their peers to that of any mortal, they even poured their own libations. See J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, London 1975, 224.

<sup>160</sup> E.g. *Hymn Dem.* 275-80; *Aphrod.* 172-5. Cf. Hesiod, *Scut.* 7-8; Theog. 9; Aesch. *P. V.* 115; Eur. *Hippol.* 1391. Imitations in Latin poetry are *inter alia* Verg. *Aen.* i 403; Ovid, *Fasti* v 375. Chapouthier, *Fond. Hardt* (1952) 85; Richardson, *Demeter* 206-8; 252.

<sup>161</sup> *H. Hymn Apollo* 400-1.

<sup>162</sup> Lines 440-3.

<sup>163</sup> *Il.* iv 75-8 and above p. 56. See also the comments of Leaf, Allen & Sikes in *The Homeric Hymns*, London 1904, 119 on 441-2. In the retelling of the legend of Aphrodite's union with Anchises (cf. *Il.* ii 820; v 313; Hes. *Theog.* 1008-10) the goddess at first denies her divine status in order to accomplish the seduction, *Hymn Aphrod.* 109. Her words are those of Odysseus whose striking appearance had misled Telemachus into believing him to be a god, *Od.* xvi 187. The Hymn is *homerikōtatos* and so are the epiphany and the characteristic signs of divinity.

<sup>164</sup> E. Vermeule, *Götterkult (Arch. Hom. III, V)*, Göttingen 1974, 121. It would be interesting to know what Athena's statue looked like in her temple at Troy, *Il.* vi 302-3. Mrs. Vermeule believes that Theano offered the *peplos* to Athena 'in person'. For Ares and Athena on Achilles' Shield in *Il.* xviii 517 see above n. 142.

<sup>165</sup> E.g. at Elis, Plut. *quaest. graec.* 36, p. 299; cf. Paus. vi 26 i.

<sup>166</sup> ὡς ἐφάνη, *Hymn Dion.* 2.

<sup>167</sup> For a different view see Pax, *RAC* v 840; Weniger, *AfR* (1924) 26.

## SPES IN THE EARLY IMPERIAL CULT: "THE HOPE OF AUGUSTUS"

MARK EDWARD CLARK

The worship of personified virtues and abstractions was an essential part of the Roman imperial cult. To the Romans virtues, such as *Concordia*, *Felicitas*, and *Libertas*, were numinous forces in the world (*numina*) and specific attributes of leaders (*virtutes*, *utilitates*, *res exspectandae*). Several Roman virtues have been the subject of individual studies.<sup>1</sup> A *desideratum* in the study of classical religion, however, has been an investigation of *Spes*, the Roman virtue and personification of Hope. Standard handbooks and surveys of Roman religion offer concise, but limited, descriptions of the virtue, while the only close examination of it has been in connection with early Christian views.<sup>2</sup> The result is that we do not have a complete description of this virtue in its own Roman context; nor do we have a study of its origin as an imperial concept and, in particular, of its connection with the emperor Augustus.

The Roman world found new hope in the Augustan regime. This point has been made, sometimes offhandedly, in connection with Latin authors writing during the time of the early principate.<sup>3</sup> The purpose here is to discuss some general aspects of the virtue *Spes* in Roman culture, and, more specifically, to pursue questions of its development in early imperial ideology. We shall examine the Roman idea both as *numen* and quality of leadership in order to see how the personification *Spes* evolved as a religious symbol of that new hope in the Augustan regime and how the virtue came to be closely associated with Augustus and other public figures.

### 1. *The Roman Cult and Spes Augusta*

*Spes* was one of the most shadowy and elusive of the Roman virtues. For this reason it is best to begin with a review of the evidence for the religious cult of the personification and the appearance of the virtue in early imperial coinage. This evidence is useful in

establishing general ideas connected with the virtue and the direction of its evolution in the early stages of the principate. It also provides the most compelling arguments that *Spes* was regarded as a religious symbol at Rome.

The Romans recognized *Spes* as a religious personification early in the republic. During this period two major temples were dedicated to her. The first temple, later known as *Spes vetus*, "Old Hope," appeared in 477 B.C., although it is now generally accepted that this temple represented a private, rather than an officially recognized cult.<sup>4</sup> In 258 B.C. A. Atilius Calatinus founded a second temple in the Forum Holitorium. From the number of extant references to this building it is possible to conclude that it was the more important shrine and that it was directly connected with the public worship of *Spes*. Several of the historical references to it deal with its destruction in 218 and 31 B.C.; but the evidence also indicates that on both occasions it was reconstructed and that the cult enjoyed continuing, if at times interrupted, observance from the Romans.<sup>5</sup> This temple of Calatinus, moreover, played a major role in the imperial cult because of its close identification with the emperor. Later imperial inscriptions sometimes described it specifically as the "Hope of Augustus in the Forum Holitorium."<sup>6</sup>

*Spes* fulfilled various functions in Roman and Italian life. Quite naturally the characters of Plautus address the personification as a deity who provides hope and confidence in desperate situations.<sup>7</sup> Her popularity is also attested by the appearance of the cult outside Rome and by associations with other personifications, some of which were prominent divinities in their own right.<sup>8</sup> Several of the deities formally connected with her are helpful establishing the exact social and religious significance of *Spes* and can be conveniently grouped together:

Victory and Salvation: Plautus' reference to *Spes*, *Salus*, *Victoria* in *Mercator* 867 implies that Hope was conceptually related to the two deities. The juxtaposition suggests that *Spes* represents the first step toward salvation and final victory. Some scholars have maintained that the temple in the *Forum Holitorium* was originally founded as a fulfillment of a vow for victory over the Carthaginians and for national salvation; while the evidence here is indirect, the feast day of *Spes* in the pre-Julian calendar, August 1, was shared with

*Victoria* and may indicate a formal connection.<sup>9</sup> More direct evidence is provided for an association with *Salus*, especially during the time of the principate, when *Salus* and *Spes* served as protectresses of the emperor and his family, or were petitioned on behalf of the birth of an heir.<sup>10</sup>

Good Fortune: Affiliations with *Fortuna*, sometimes together with *Fides*, or with *Fortuna primigenia*, are manifold.<sup>11</sup> The connections here are logical since the Roman view of Hope often entailed tangible and materialistic benefits. Her association with *Fortuna primigenia* seems to have involved the first born of a household, for both as a personification and a traditional Roman concept *Spes* is mentioned in the context of bearing children, who were typically “the hope of the house.”<sup>12</sup> Along similar lines, fertility and good fortune are further suggested through the relation between Hope and *Ops*, the personification of Abundance usually representing agricultural blessings.<sup>13</sup>

Youth: In the public cult an emphasis upon Hope and Youth emerges, especially during the imperial period, when the religious and social aspects of *Spes* crystallized. For instance, the date of Augustus’ assumption of the *toga virilis*, October 18, was observed as a *supplicatio Spei et Iuventuti* (CIL 10.8375). This observance is best understood as a celebration of the young Augustus as a charismatic youth and the promise of his other future virtues; for as a specific quality of a young man, the idea sometimes figures as a quasi-virtue and the expectation of other more substantial attributes. For example, one of the later panegyrists has this aspect in mind when he refers to Alexander the Great as a parallel to the young Theodosius: Alexander is still youthful and “not yet Great” (*Pan. Lat.* 2.8.4.: *nondum Magnus*), but possessed of the sure hope of future virtues (*futurarum spe ceteriore virtutum*). Similar ideas also appear in the time of the republic. Cicero, for example, describes the young Scipio Minor as having enjoyed the greatest hope of the citizens in his boyhood and surpassing those expectations with virtue in his youth (*Am.* 11: *qui summam spem civium, quam de eo iam puero habuerant, continuo adulescens incredibili virtute superavit*).

These connections with other deities and virtues suggest that the social and religious attributes of *Spes* were well defined before the time of the principate. Literary formulae, such as *spes victoriae*, *spes*

*salutis* and *spes opesque*, parallel standard aspects of Roman views of the personification as a symbol linked with victory, salvation and abundance.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, it is manifest that the deity fulfilled a specific role in the domestic affairs of private citizens and that in the later cult she was associated with youth and the continuation of the imperial family.

The numismatic representations of *Spes* also drew upon the long-standing tradition of her cult at Rome. The portrayal of the personification may even have been based upon the archaic iconography of the temple in the Forum Holitorium.<sup>15</sup> On coins she is usually shown as an archaic kore advancing as she holds a flower in one hand, while lifting her dress with the other. Her most popular designation in imperial western coinage, moreover, was *SPES AUGUSTA*, “the hope of Augustus.” The legend first appeared on a sestertius issued by Claudius in A.D. 41 (*RIC* 64), and was again introduced in A.D. 70 by Vespasian on the reverse of a sestertius which depicts *Spes* offering her flower to the emperor and his two sons, Domitian and Titus (*RIC* 396). Vespasian also placed *Spes* on coins bearing the legend *PRINCEPS IUVENTVT* as propaganda for himself and Domitian (*RIC* 139, 233), although the title “Prince of Youth” was normally reserved for the emperor’s son in his semi-official capacity as heir to the throne.

Early imperial coinage thus focused attention upon the Roman idea of Hope in its connection with youth. The numismatic portrayal is now generally taken to have been propaganda for the imperial heirs.<sup>16</sup> Although this interpretation is widely accepted, it is better to maintain that the virtue emphasized youth, rather than strictly representing propaganda for the imperial heir.<sup>17</sup> Scattered allusions to the imperial idea in literature of the first century after Christ support the view that *Spes* was dual concept, although the weight of the evidence clearly falls upon hope in regards to the young heir. For instance, Seneca in *Consolatio ad Marciam* 2.2.3 describes Drusus and Marcellus, previous imperial heirs, as possessed of the hope of the principate (*spe futuri principis certa*). Statius in *Thebaid* 12.281 appears to allude to the virtue in his description of Argia, queen of Argos, as “the most sacred hope of her race” (*spe augustissima gentis*). At the same time, however, the poet addresses Domitian, while mature emperor, as the “great

parent...the hope of mankind'' in *Silvae* 4.2.15 (*Magne parens...spes hominum*).<sup>18</sup> These passages suggest that, in its fully developed form during the first century, the imperial virtue represented both the dynastic ambitions of the imperial house and reflected upon hope in the emperor. As we shall see, it involved the actual hope of the emperor, or of the imperial house, in his heir as well as the hope of the people in the emperor, or his successor. The imperial virtue *Spes Augusta*, then, represented propaganda both for the mature emperor and his son(s) as heir.

While the numismatic and literary evidence from the time of the later principate is helpful in showing the eventual development of *Spes* in the imperial cult, it does not shed much light upon the origin of the virtue and its transformation from a religious symbol of the republic into imperial propaganda. The virtue in the first century offered a glimpse backwards to Augustus and the origin of the Julio-Claudian dynasty: *Spes Augusta*. Even Vespasian's selection of the legend evoked the well-established order of the original dynasty and was doubtless welcome propaganda after the year A.D. 68-69. Though the adjective *Augustus* was applied to many virtues of later development in coinage, one thus suspects that Hope was necessarily present as an inchoate idea during the beginning of the principate. The most immediate suggestion that the virtue arose from Augustan origins is the appearance of the personification *Spes* in non-western coinage during the principate of Augustus himself. A coin bearing the reverse legend *SPES COLONIAE PELLENSIS*, was issued at Pella in 16 B.C. and implies that Augustus was "the Hope of the Colony of Pella".<sup>19</sup> The colony consisted of Roman veterans, some of whom had fought at Actium and, though the coin does not represent widely disseminated propaganda, we may be certain that it drew upon Roman ideas of Hope already in existence at that time.

## 2. *Public Hope and Confidence*

We must consider the evidence for the virtue in literature of the late republic and early principate in order to appreciate the Augustan origins of the imperial virtue *Spes*. Here we shall take into account broader meanings of the word which seem to parallel the

religious personification. This method is not without problems, however, since it is not always easily determined when *spes*, as a concept which is not personified, functions as a Roman virtue.

In literature widely disparate views of hope conflict with the religious concept and national symbol of Rome. The Romans, as well as the Greeks, did not always view the quality of hope as a consistent and dependable factor in the affairs of men. For instance, the Romans often represented *spes* as the evil force of delusion, such as “vain hope” (*spes inanis*) and at times in literature and inscriptions they even treated the personification *Spes* as a delusive deity.<sup>20</sup> This view of hope is not so unusual in light of the parallel Greek motif of ἐλπίς κενή and the fact that in the Greek idea of *Elpis* the Romans had a long tradition preceding their own of Hope as a malevolent figure, or at least as a personification of dubious quality. She was among the oldest and most ambiguous personifications, and some of the references to her in archaic Greek poetry remain enigmatic today.<sup>21</sup> The pejorative aspects of the Roman conception have been previously studied so that we need not dwell upon them here, except to note that sometimes the view of hope as a delusive quality prejudiced the portrayal, especially the literary treatment, of the Roman personification and virtue.<sup>22</sup>

In spite of the negative aspects of the quality, definite and consistent patterns of the virtue emerge. Since the problem of ambiguous views of hope has not been dealt with previously, it is appropriate here to establish guidelines for deciding when *spes* functions as a virtue. One of the most consistent criteria to bear in mind is that *spes* as a virtue represented a public concept and that the personification could symbolize “Public Confidence.”<sup>23</sup>

Here it is helpful to consider a parallel phenomenon in Roman art. Art historians delineate “private” and “public” Roman monuments: private art is inconsistent and difficult to describe, whereas public art falls into consistent patterns, following the ideology of Roman public life and politics.<sup>24</sup> This point is well illustrated by epigraphical, artistic and literary applications of hope to death and immortality. In these instances the concept is indeed very inconsistent. For example, a popular motif in funerary inscriptions is that mortals in this life suffer from *Spes* and *Fortuna* as delusive forces and are free from their influence only after death.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time, an artistic portrayal of the personification is found on a sarcophagus, a role in which *Spes* appears to fulfill a kindly function.<sup>26</sup> The sepulchral use of *Spes*, however, had nothing to do with the deity of the public cult who provided domestic and national blessings. Similarly, in literature the “hope of immortality,” though a positive aspect of *spes*, was not a normal view of the hope offered by the public cult (Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 32, 39: *spes immortalitatis*). Rather, the Roman virtue evoked expectations of more materialistic and immediate fulfillment than did private conceptions of hope (including the Roman and Christian views of hope in an after life) and *Spes* as virtue was properly concerned with the affairs of public life and the empire.<sup>27</sup>

The problem of ambiguous views of a Roman personification is not unique to *Spes*. The public concept of Hope also parallels the Roman idea of *Fortuna populi Romani*, the genius of the Roman people which guided their destiny. While Fortune sometimes figures as a whimsical force in literary treatments and sepulchral references (note 25), as the public protectress of Rome she served strictly as a beneficent deity.<sup>28</sup> Here again later iconographical and numismatic evidence is instructive. In the coinage of Hadrian the legend *SPES POPVLI ROMANI* evokes the hopes and aspirations of the Roman people and parallels the contemporary deity *Fortuna populi Romani* with which Hope is connected.<sup>29</sup>

In her connections with other deities, such as *Spes* and *Fides*, Fortune is also portrayed as determining the status and stability of the lesser goddesses. Horace expresses such a view in his hymn to Fortune of Antium:<sup>30</sup>

te (Fortunam) Spes et albo rara Fides colit  
velata panno, nec comitem abnegat,  
utcumque mutata potentis  
veste domos inimica linquis. (Carm. 1.35.21-24)

The implication here is that even the personal hope of the household was as dependent upon good fortune. This is consistent with other cases. For example, during his exile Cicero described his own hope for returning as proper (*recte sperare*) when it was based upon reality and in accordance with his own fortune.<sup>31</sup> Thus hope at times depends upon fortune for its virtuous nature and both qualities operate as parallel forces.

Just as the Romans concretized their good fortune into a personified virtue, so they also invested their own public confidence and resilience with a numinous force. The idea of national confidence was, of course, not altogether new with the Romans. The Greeks, in particular the Athenians, expressed a parallel view of themselves as resilient and confident in troubled times through the adjective εὐελπις.<sup>32</sup> Unlike the Romans, however, the Greeks did not concretize the idea into a deity, nor did it play such an extensive role in their political ideology as it did in Roman culture. The Roman concept was also substantially strengthened by its connection with the empire and the preoccupation with the eternity of Rome. Such a connection is clear in Cicero's reference to Rome as a city founded in the hope of eternity and of the empire (*De rep.* 2.5: *ad spem diuturnitatis...atque imperii*). A similar emphasis upon nationalistic spirit is also obvious in references to the confidence of the Roman people, the expectations of the republic, or even the confidence of external people in Rome and the hope of justice offered to them by the empire.<sup>33</sup>

Cicero's philosophical discussions of the virtue are further instructive for the public idea of *Spes*. In *De legibus* 2.27-28 he deals with laws pertaining to religion and the question of requiring the souls of brave and noble men to be worshipped as divine. His central argument is that only good human qualities should be deified and that they are too powerful to come merely from a human source alone. Cicero includes *Spes* among the personifications which are justly concretized on the grounds that "since the mind is aroused by the expectation of good things, Hope was properly consecrated by Calatinus" (28: *quoniam expectatione rerum bonarum erigitur animus, recte etiam a Calatino Spes consecrata est.*). Though Cicero's definition of the virtue as the *expectatio rerum bonarum* is general, it does express the future aspect of the virtue and its connection with other blessings which so often are the focus of the Roman concept. The personification is also very clearly presented here as a beneficent deity, rather than a dubious quality, or an apotropaic force, such as *Mala Fortuna*.

Of course, the Romans themselves did not always agree on the divinity of their virtues. Elsewhere in *De natura deorum* 3.38 Cicero treats the concept of hope as a *res exspectanda* from the gods. This

should not be viewed, however, as a diminution of the virtuous quality of *Spes*, for in this work Cicero is permitting the traditional Roman view of deification to be questioned by the Sceptic Cotta, who argues that such concepts are merely figments of our own imagination (3.47: *quae cogitatione nobismet ipsis possumus fingere*).<sup>34</sup> In the end of the work Balbus' Stoic views prevail that the personifications actually grant blessings to mortals and hence are worthy of deification (2.60-61, 3.95).

Cicero's views and his defense of the divinity of virtues should be taken as traditionally Roman. Perhaps the most significant aspect of his philosophical treatment of *Spes* is that the personification of Roman religion is discussed in the context of the human quality. Cicero treats the personification as a divine force inherent in certain heroic figures and suggests that public religion should be connected with specific virtues of civic leaders, such as Calatinus who was inspired by the expectation of good things to found the temple of Hope. Cicero reflects here a general tendency on the part of the Romans to express their own good qualities through the individual virtues of their political leaders. The virtues of public leaders, moreover, played as great a role in Roman politics as they did in religion.

### 3. *The Virtue of Roman Leadership*

Cicero's philosophical statements provide a point of reference for other passages of literature in which *spes* figures as a virtue of great men or as something to be gained from the gods. His description of the personification can be shown to parallel the virtue of individual Roman leaders, and it is worthwhile to pay attention to several personalities, both mythical and historical, who represented to the Romans the hope and expectation of good things. From literary instances of the term we can outline the political significance of the virtue and show that leaders from the time of the republic exhibited concrete qualities which Augustus himself represented.

Some of the most notable examples of the virtue appear in connection with Scipio Africanus. In his discussion *De fiducia sui* Valerius Maximus (3.7.1) cites Scipio as a leader who provided hope to the Roman people during the Second Punic War. This war

was both a critical turning point in the course of Roman history and a vital period for the formation of the national religion and characteristics of the Roman people.<sup>35</sup>

Numerous passages from Livy, moreover, agree with the observation made by Valerius and afford an opportunity to see how *spes* could be used as a personal virtue of Scipio. The concept functions in two ways. The first element of Livy's treatment involves *spes* as the actual hope of the young leader eager for battle and confident in his increasing success. Livy claims that Scipio came by the hope of ending the war, provided that he himself did not fail to take advantage of the opportunity (28.2.14: *Scipio spem debellandi, si nihil eam ipse cunctando moratus esset, nactus*; see also 27.17.5). The historian also emphasizes Scipio's own state of mind by attributing the conquest of Spain to the young man's *spes ac magnitudo animi* (28.17.2) and by anticipating the conquest of Carthage through Scipio's hope of obtaining Africa (28.18.11: *potiundae Africae spem*). It should be noted that in this account Scipio is only momentarily disappointed in his expectations (29.24.2) and that Livy's typical portrayal is of a Roman leader who was possessed of the hope of freeing Italy from Hannibal's control and bringing victory from Africa (29.20.2, 30.16.8). In concrete terms, then, the personal quality of Scipio's hope and confidence had a direct bearing upon the outcome of the war.

One suggestion which comes from Livy's portrayal is that *spes* was a distinctive quality of Scipio. The young man appears to be contrasted by the historian with Fabius Cunctator who saved Rome by the tactics of delay. Livy implies that Scipio was more daring in his optimism and the pursuit of an aggressive course of action than Fabius. This is suggested by the use of *cunctando* in 28.2.14 (above) and by a passage in which Fabius disparages Scipio's approach, warning the youth concerning the vicissitudes of fortune (28.41.6-8, 42.1). Scipio's reply to the charges of Fabius merits special attention, for he argues that it is the fortune of the Roman people and the violated gods who have inspired his hopes: *Has mihi spes subicit fortuna populi Romani, di foederis ab hoste violati testes* (28.44.7). The implication is that Scipio's personal hopes were not rash and ill conceived, but that they were based upon fact and other virtues. Most important of all, Livy indicates that the personal hopes of Scipio

converged with the guiding genius of the Roman people: *Fortuna populi Romani*. We can safely conclude here that Scipio's personal hope acquires the aspects of an unqualified virtue, for the attribute is strengthened by its connection with the destiny of the Roman people and the empire.

The second element of this treatment involves inspiring confidence in others. For instance, Masinissa, the ally of Rome, conceives the hope that Carthage would not withstand the Romans, should Scipio be sent to Africa (28.35.11). Also, the ambassadors from Saguntum to Rome thank the senate for sending Scipio to rescue their city, calling him their "hope, help and salvation": (28.39.9-10: *spem, opem, salutem nostram*). The Roman senate in particular gains confidence from the Pythian Apollo and from Scipio's own frame of mind because he demanded Africa as province (29.10.7: *In eiusdem spei summam conferebant P. Scipionis velut praesagientem animum de fine belli, quod depoposcisset provinciam Africam.*). Finally, the city was aroused to hope that the war would be waged in Africa, if Scipio gained his wish (29.14.1: *in eam spem erecta civitas erat in Africa...bellatum iri finemque bello Punico adesse*; see also 29.20.2, 22.4-5). Once again it is implied that the personal wishes of Scipio to obtain his political destiny were essentially the same as the hope of the people (*in eam spem*). These instances also suggest that Scipio represented objective aspects of the virtue as the hope of the people, the allies, and the Roman empire in himself.

Of course, Livy has literary aims in his portrayal of Scipio which cannot be ignored. At least part of his purpose was to create suspense through the manipulation of the events and description of the psychological background to the Hannibalic wars. For instance, in 30.28 the historian describes at length the hopes of the people in Scipio and their anxieties, which became more intense as the final battle drew near (30.28.9: *Eis quoque quibus erat ingens in Scipione fiducia et victoriae spes, quo magis in propinquam eam imminebant...eo curae intentiores erant.*)<sup>36</sup> Thus, though some literary tension is created between the virtue and its corresponding fallacy, the instances of Livy's use of the term, when considered together, show that the virtuous aspects of *spes* involved the qualities of a charismatic leader who provided the expectation of ending the war and with future victory.<sup>37</sup>

Livy's portrayal of Scipio also provides a pattern for the virtue in other instances, such as Cicero's oratorical works. Here we have more substantial evidence that during the late republic *spes* could be viewed as a political attribute. The most important passages are from Cicero's panegyric of Pompey in *De lege Manilia*, in which the orator argued for replacing Lucullus with Pompey as general in the Mithridatic war. The usage of *spes* in this context deserves attention, because it is similar to the people's hopes and expectations in Scipio. The speech is, furthermore, significant, because scholars have noted that some of what were to become major imperial virtues appear in the panegyric of Pompey in 66 B.C.<sup>38</sup>

Here, and for the most part elsewhere, *spes* is not as concrete as other more consistent virtues, such as *felicitas*.<sup>39</sup> It does, however, figure as the confidence which the Romans placed in Pompey as military leader. For example, Cicero mentions that Pompey enjoyed great popularity because of his vigorous pursuit of the Maritime War in 67 B.C. and that "by the hope and name of one man" (44: *unius hominis spe ac nomine*) the price of grain was reduced and an abundance of agricultural goods followed. The orator's remarks were directed specifically to the *equites*, who enjoyed a special relationship with Pompey and who stood to benefit financially from peace in the east. What is meant here is that the confidence in Pompey and his reputation were sufficient assurances that peace would follow his investment of power.

Cicero also expresses here the view that hope was placed in a single leader and that this person's virtue provided the expectation of future blessings. In 59 he answers the objections of his opponent, Catulus, that granting such powers to a single individual is without precedent: "When he (Catulus) asked you, if you would place all power in Pompey alone (*in uno*), in the event that anything should happen to him, in whom you would place your hope (*in quo spem essetis habituri*), he (Pompey) received a great reward for his virtue and dignity, when almost with a single voice you said that you would place your hope in him" (*in eo ipso spem habituros esse dixistis*).<sup>40</sup> The question of whether hope should be invested in a single leader was, in fact, one of the central issues at stake for Cicero in arguing for the Manilian law. Accordingly, the orator argues that it was traditional procedure for the Romans to do so,

since they formerly placed the hope of the empire in Marius alone (60: *in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur*). Cicero also mentions by way of establishing a precedent that Pompey had enjoyed proconsular power against Sertorius in 77 B.C. and that the promise of his youth merited such great hope for conducting the government that the office of two consuls was committed to the virtue of a single youth (62: *Tanta in eo rei publicae bene gerendae spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adolescentis virtuti committeretur.*). Such passages point directly to a tradition of charismatic leaders who promised the civil blessings of peace and order and thus provided confidence to Roman citizens.

Several other passages corroborate Cicero's views of public confidence in *De lege Manilia*. In *Pro Sestio* 38, for instance, Cicero calls Marius the "terror of the enemy, the hope and help of the homeland" (*C. Marium terrorem hostium, spem, subsidiumque patriae*). The description of Marius parallels Livy 28.39.9-10 in which Scipio represents the "hope, help and salvation" of Saguntum, and may even be connected with the ending of Sallust's *Jurgurthine War* in which it is claimed that the hope and resources of the state were placed in Marius during that time (114.3: *et ea tempestate spes atque opes ciuitatis in illo sitae.*).<sup>41</sup> Again in *De lege agraria* 2.54 we find a more restricted hope in Cicero's reference to the "expectation of fields and other accommodations" which the army had placed in Pompey (*spem in Cn. Pompeio exercitus habeat aut agrorum aut aliorum commodorum*).<sup>42</sup> Here it is the materialistic focus of the concept that is important and its appearance as the expectation placed in a military leader. The public concept of hope could thus be cast in terms of a military patron who provided land for veterans. These passages indicate that the symbolism of hope in a charismatic leader was well developed by the time of the late republic and that this hope was sometimes seen as an element of the political dependency upon a figure who provided concrete benefits to his constituency.

A survey of the word in literature also shows that in the uncertainty which followed Pompey's death, and eventually that of Caesar, the term took on increasing popularity as a political idea. In April, 46 B.C. Cicero wrote that it was time to put an end to war now with the loss of the republican army and Pompey, "in whom alone there had been hope" (*Fam. 7.3.5: eo duce, in quo spes fuerat*

uno). Caesar, however, did not represent to Cicero the same type of hope that Pompey did. While the orator does use *sperare* in *Pro Marcello* to express a general hope for the republic under the new order and in 18 connects the hope of salvation with Caesar's virtue of clemency (see also 21), he does not use *spes* as the confidence of the people in Caesar's leadership. It is clear that Cicero was not as enthusiastic about Caesar as he had been about Pompey and other republican leaders who were to follow.

During Cicero's struggle for the republic *spes* developed a new and important role. The *Philippics* contain numerous references to the hope for peace and salvation, or the hope of recovering liberty and the republic. For instance, in 3.32 Cicero portrays the Roman people as encouraged by the hope of recovering liberty (*videtisne refertum forum populumque Romanum ad spem recuperandae libertatis erectum?*); in 4. 16 he claims that he himself had served to incite this hope for liberty (*me auctore et principe ad spem libertatis exarsimus*).<sup>43</sup> In these speeches *spes* mostly fulfills a role ancillary to liberty and other civil blessings, such as peace and salvation, or as the hope of the restoration of the republic. It was the hope of these public blessings which Cicero sought to evoke from the people and thus to bring to realization.

Also during this period Cicero focuses hope upon various leaders of the republican forces. For instance, Decimus Brutus and Hirtius offer the hope of victory in *Philippic* 14.4. Marcus Lepidus receives special attention in *Philippic* 5.41 in which he is portrayed as providing great hope in his virtue, authority, and good luck, for leisure, peace, concord and liberty (*magnam spem in eius virtute, auctoritate, felicitate reponere otii, pacis, concordiae, libertatis*). Significant terminology also comes from the epistles of 44 to 43 B.C. during which time Cicero writes letters of encouragement to several leading republicans. For example, he writes to Cassius that "the greatest hope of the republic is in you and your troops" (*Fam.* 12.9.2: *maximam rei publicae spem in te et in tuis copiis esse*); to Plancus and Decimus Brutus that "all hope is in you and your colleague with the gods' help" (*Fam.* 10.22.1: *In te et in collega omnis spes est dis approbantibus*). and "the Roman people expect all things from you and place all hope of ultimately recovering liberty in you" (*Fam.* 11.5.2: *populum Romanum omnia a te exspectare atque in te aliquando recuperandae*

*libertatis omnem spem ponere*). Time and again similar language echoes in reference to others, such as Marcus Brutus and Lepidus.<sup>44</sup> Though the term appears to be employed indiscriminately in the epistles, Cicero did in fact limit the concept to republican leaders of sound qualities and certain promise. He stipulated that honors should be granted men in recognition of past deeds, not merely for the sake of the hope of future benefit (*Fam.* 10.10.1: *non propter spem futuri benefici*). While it is clear that he was a man searching desperately for confidence in the republican cause, Cicero was aware that not every situation and leader represented hope of the future.<sup>45</sup> At the very least though, these numerous instances corroborate the popularity of *spes* as a political idea during a time of crisis.

The instances of the word in the literature of the late republic and early principate, then, indicate that *spes* conveyed a political meaning. While this meaning falls into line generally with Cicero's definition of the virtue, we can establish more specific usages of the term. Public hope and confidence in Scipio involved the expectation of victory and converged with the youth's own desires and political ambition. By the time of Cicero, hope in a single individual was viewed as traditionally Roman and as such it was the concretization of the hope of Roman citizens. The political aspect of it was connected with the investment of power and authority, for the granting of *imperium* to any public figure naturally entailed the confidence of the people and their expectations for future blessings from him. As seen from Cicero's careful arguments concerning Pompey's past deeds and achievements, this confidence was based upon previous success. The political idea was, moreover, often materialistic, such as the hope of veterans in Pompey for land; but at the same time it evoked more lofty concepts, especially at the end of the republic, as the hope of liberty, peace and the restoration of the republic. At the end of the republic Cicero's own hope for these civil blessings was once again focused upon leaders who provided such expectations.

#### 4. *Octavian-Augustus*

Scholars have noted that at the end of the republic catchwords, most notably *libertas*, became an important part of the political

jargon and that the republican idea of liberty, best represented by Cicero's use, also anticipated the later development of the imperial virtue and even Augustus' boast that he restored the republic and liberty.<sup>46</sup> A similar development is found in the concept of *spes*, although it did not achieve as great a prominence as *libertas*. We have an abundance of proof that *spes* was part of the traditional ideology of the republic well before the time of Octavian and that the political idea of hope in a charismatic personality became especially popular toward the end of the republic. This development suggests that during the period of upheaval after 44 B.C. a new need arose for a single figure who provided confidence and the hope of civil blessings.

Augustus himself filled that void. Direct evidence, besides the coin from Pella, comes from an eastern inscription of 9 B.C. referring to the political blessings of peace and portraying Augustus as a savior who fulfilled old hopes and provided new ones.<sup>47</sup> The reference to peace reminds one of Cicero's descriptions of republican leaders between 44 and 43 B.C. Indeed, other evidence from Cicero points to an early connection between the hopes for civil benefits and Octavian.

Two passages from the *Philippics* show a connection between *spes* and the future emperor. In 5.49 Cicero argues that the young Octavian was different from his father, adding that the hope of liberty has been placed in the youth and that salvation has come from him (*in hoc spes libertatis posita est; ab hoc accepta iam salus*). Also in 14.28 Cicero alludes to the authority of the propraetorship which had been granted Octavian in January, 43 B.C. Here the orator claims that Octavian overcame the disadvantage of youth by virtue and that his services always seemed greater by reason of his age. When Octavian was granted command the Romans also conferred upon him the hope of that name of *imperator* (*cui cum imperium dabamus, eodem tempore etiam spem eius nominis deferebamus*). Again, as in *De lege Manilia*, the connection between *imperium* as the investment of power and *spes* as confidence in a leader is implicit. Cicero's remarks also emphasize the youth and virtue of Octavian, qualities which are praised on several other occasions in the *Philippics* (3.5, 4.3, 5.43).

It is, of course, now generally accepted that Cicero's praise of Octavian was really an attempt to rally the support of the people around a popular figure and a youth who was greatly admired.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, Cicero provides us with a context for understanding the virtue of the imperial cult. Two epistles of 44-43 B.C. reiterate the emphasis upon great expectations for the future of Octavian: great hope is in Octavian (*Fam.* 12.23.2: *magna spes est in eo*) and he is a youth of the greatest expectations (11.28.6: *optimae spei adulescens*). The connection between hope and youth reflects the traditional views of the Romans and their admiration for young charismatic leaders. At the same time, it is suggestive of the later supplication of *Spes* and *Iuventus* in the imperial cult as a commemoration of Octavian's own youth. The special relationship between hope and youth found in the imperial cult should be understood as owing much to the charismatic nature of Octavian as a young man, just as the numismatic propaganda should be seen as drawing upon the popularity of the political idea of *spes* during the late republic. The idea of hope in a Roman leader and the expectation of future blessings through him offers an intelligible context for the coin which portrayed Augustus in 16 B.C. as the Hope of the colony of Pella.

We may further assume that numismatic and religious propaganda represented the personal hopes of the emperor himself. We have already seen that the public confidence in previous leaders such as Scipio Africanus was related to his own personal political ambitions. The personal hopes of Augustus necessarily involved public policy. According to Suetonius, the hope of the emperor, which he wanted to carry to his death, was that the basis for the republic in the rule of a single individual should remain permanent.<sup>49</sup> Augustus channelled these personal hopes into a specific direction which included the manipulation of public religion. This can be argued from inscriptions and literature. It is apparent that the public cult of *Spes* received some attention from the emperor and his family during Augustus' reign. In 31 B.C. the temple in the *Forum Holitorium* had been destroyed (note five). An inscription from the time of Augustus, however, indicates that he restored the temple, although it may not have been completed until A.D. 19, at which time Germanicus rededicated the shrine.<sup>50</sup> Germanicus was an ap-

appropriate symbol of the virtue for the royal family, for as heir to the throne his youth and leadership aroused the expectations and hopes of the people.<sup>51</sup> Though the evidence does not allow the establishment of an exact date, it does connect the virtue directly with the imperial family and suggests that the typical religious ideas associated with *Spes*, as a special deity of domestic affairs and youth, centered around the person of the emperor and his heirs.

Augustan literature also contains some scattered passages which point to a new significance and narrowed focus of hope for the period. For instance, in Vergil's *Aeneid*, uncompleted at the poet's death in 19 B.C., the future of Rome is alluded to in symbolic language:

hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo,  
sidereo flagrans clipeo et caelestibus armis  
et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae,  
procedunt castris .....(12.166-169)

The verses suggest that both father and son share in the concept of hope, here represented as an idea of the future dynasty of Rome. Aeneas, as founder and father of the Romans (*Romanae stirpis origo*), is accompanied from camp by his son, Ascanius, for the final battle to establish Rome. Vergil's portrayal of the young man as the "second hope of great Rome" (*magnae spes altera Romae*) enhances by implication Aeneas' own position as the first hope of Rome. The passage should be seen in light of current scholarly views of the mythical heroes in the *Aeneid* as symbols of the Augustan regime and ideology.<sup>52</sup>

While Vergil's focus was upon the individual heir in the mythical dynasty of Rome, in Horace we find a broader view of the hope of the people. In 17 B.C. Augustus celebrated the Secular Games, which looked forward to the next *saeculum* of Rome. With its emphasis upon the future, the celebration of the Secular Games was an appropriate time for new hope. Indeed, the Secular Games of A.D. 204 continued this tradition by including a thanksgiving for the hope of the future (CIL 6.32326.22: *ad spem futurorum curandum vobis est*).<sup>53</sup> Horace's own poem, written for the occasion of 17 B.C., was a glimpse of the future through a panoramic view of Roman history. It is fitting that the poem was sung by a chorus of twenty-seven young boys and an equal number of girls whose parents were

still alive, for together they represented the hope of continuing their private households. The song ends with an affirmation of good hope for the future which the chorus carried home: *spem bonam certamque domum reporto* (74). The line takes on increased meaning in light of Augustus' concern for the future of Rome and his institution of laws favoring marriage and the bearing of children.<sup>54</sup> Though not one of Horace's best, the poem does reflect a similar concern and suggests that this concern took on a new confidence under Augustus.

In 17 B.C. the imperial family had every reason for good hope for the future dynasty. The same year Augustus adopted Gaius and Lucius as heirs and appointed them to the semi-official status of *principes iuventutis* (*Res gestae* 14), which we have noted was later associated with *Spes* in Vespasian's coinage. The problem of establishing a dynasty, however, proved to be difficult for Augustus and his hopes were nearly dashed. The previous heir Marcellus had died in 23 B.C., an event alluded to in Vergil's description of the hope of the youth's ancestors (*Ae.* 6.876: *in tantum spe tollet avos...*). Also, by A.D. 4 both Lucius and Gaius were dead.

In that year Augustus reluctantly adopted Tiberius. The adoption was nevertheless described enthusiastically by Velleius Paterculus (2.103), whose account is designed to enhance Tiberius as a carefully selected heir rather than one chosen as a last resort. The passage has been noted by previous scholars as important for the imperial cult, and it merits special emphasis here for the ideas of hope which it illustrates.<sup>55</sup>

The paragraph from Velleius begins with a reference to fortune which removed "the hope of a great name" (*fortuna, quae subduxerat spem magni nominis*). She returns her protection to the state through the arrival of Tiberius in Rome at the opportune moment. By ultimately returning her protection to the republic, Velleius' fortune thus appears to function as *Fortuna populi Romani*. On the day of the adoption the city was filled with joy and the realized hope of the security and eternity of the empire. On that day there was also a certain hope of parents for children, of men for matrimony, of masters for patrimony; all men possessed the hope of salvation, quiet, peace and tranquillity, so much so that one could not hope for more, nor could it be accorded hope more fortunately:

Laetitia illius diei concursumque civitatis et vota  
paene inserentium caelo manus spemque conceptam perpetuae  
securitatis aeternitatisque Romani imperii vix in illo  
iusto opere abunde persequi poterimus ... tum refulsit  
certa spes liberorum parentibus, viris matrimoniorum,  
dominis patrimonii, omnibus hominibus salutis, quietis,  
pacis, tranquillitatis, adeo ut nec plus sperari potuerit  
nec spei responderi felicius.

Several of the concepts here, such as *salus*, *quies*, *pax*, *tranquillitas*, *securitas* and *aeternitas* are well known as later coin types of the empire. *Spes* appears as the main imperial idea, however, since through it all other blessings are connected. The passage is particularly instructive concerning the Roman virtue and its emphasis upon political and domestic blessings in materialistic terms. Velleius implies that the imperial virtue is a twofold idea. It is the expectation of the people at the same time that it is the hope of the imperial family, here fulfilled by the person of Tiberius. Velleius began his description with a reference to "the hope of a great name," e.g., the name of Caesar as the hope of continuing the Augustan dynasty. We should imagine the virtue here as proceeding from the hope of that great name to the hope of the empire and down to the expectation of all Romans. The virtue emanated from both Augustus and Tiberius, for the hope of the imperial family also involved the hope of the empire and the personal hopes of private citizens. It is implied that the adoption of Tiberius was a public symbol to private households of their own continuity and perpetuity.

We have examined here the traditional ideas which provided a basis for the Roman imperial virtue *Spes* during the time of the early principate. The numismatic evidence indicates that the virtue was in existence by 16 B.C. and that under Claudius and the Flavians it developed specifically into *Spes Augusta*, which emphasized traditional ideas of youth as propaganda for the heir to the throne. At the same time, the idea of the mature emperor as the hope of Rome was not unknown in the first century after Christ. We are able to interpret the virtue through the occurrences of *spes* in the literature of the late republic and early principate. Here it has been discovered that the political concept of *spes* as a positive quality of leadership sometimes converged with the public concept of the hope of the peo-

ple and of the empire. This individual attribute of certain leaders fulfilled the expectations of the people and was represented by several political figures of the republic, including Octavian.

As early as Augustus' reign the virtue crystallized in its focus upon the imperial dynasty. The imperial virtue involved the traditional concept of the hope of the people in a single individual, and this idea remained implicit throughout its imperial development; but it was also transformed into a religious concept emphasizing youth, domestic welfare and symbolized by the imperial heir. Augustus, then, provided new hope in concrete terms: he represented the expectation of political benefits, the hope of peace, salvation and liberty. But more specifically, civil blessings were also realized in the adoption of his heir, Tiberius, who insured the perpetuity of the empire and symbolized the future prosperity of private households.

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<sup>1</sup> For the most recent discussion of the imperial virtues see J. R. Fears, "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Ideology," *ANRW* 2.17.2. (1981), 827-948; for previous literature see p. 833, n. 25. Numerous older studies have been collected in *Römische Wertbegriffe. Wege der Forschung*. 34, ed. H. Oppermann (Darmstadt 1967); *Römischer Kaiserkult. Wege der Forschung*. 372, ed. A. Wlosok (Darmstadt 1978) and *Ideologie und Herrschaft in der Antike. Wege der Forschung*. 528, ed. H. Klopff (Darmstadt 1979); see especially in this last volume H. U. Instinsky, "Kaiser und Ewigkeit," 416-427, as cited here (from *Hermes* 77 (1942), 313-355). See also Edwin S. Ramage, "Denigration of Predecessor under Claudius, Galba, and Vespasian," *Historia* (forthcoming); A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Emperor and His Virtues," *Historia* 30 (1981) 298-323 and L. R. Lind, "Roman Religion and Ethical Thought: Abstraction and Personification," *CJ* (1974), 108-119; G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, trans. P. Krapp (Chicago and London 1976), 397-406.

<sup>2</sup> P. G. Walsh, "*Spes Romana, Spes Christiana*," *Prudentia* 6 (1974), 33-42. See also Fears (above, n. 1), 861-863; K. Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (München 1960), 238, 322 and *idem*, "Spes," *RE*<sup>2</sup> 6, cols. 1634-36; G. Wissowa, "*Spes*," *Ausführliches Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. W. H. Roscher (Leipzig 1905-15), vol. 4, cols. 1295-97 and *idem*, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*<sup>2</sup> (München 1912), 329-331; F. Taeger, *Charisma. Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkults* (Stuttgart 1960), vol. 2, 126, 242, 299, 419, 420, 424, 456. My own work is the result of an investigation of *spes* at the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik in Munich through the sponsorship of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

<sup>3</sup> This point is often made or implied in connection with Vergil. See for example, C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (Oxford 1940; repr. 1980), 27 and W. Berg, *Early Virgil* (London 1974), 143-144. The new spirit of hope also seems to be reflected in Vergil's characterization of Aeneas. See B. Otis, *Vergil. A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1963), 231-232, 237-238, 279-280, 332-333, 339-341, 365 and 374.

<sup>4</sup> Dion. Hal. 9.24.4; Livy, 2.51.2: *SHA. Elaq.* 13.5, *CIL* 15.5929. See Fears (above, n.1.), 848, n. 76 and G. Radke, *Die Götter Altitaliens* (Münster 1965), 291. The evidence for the temples of *Spes* is partially available in G. Lugli, *Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes* (Rome 1957), vol. 1, 171, 179; vol. 2, 60; vol. 3, 138; vol. 4, 46, 194, 373.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, *Leg.* 2.28, *Nat. deor.* 3.47; Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.49; Livy 21. 62.4, 24.47.15, 25.7.6; Cassius Dio 50.10.3; R. Delbrück, *Die drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium in Rom* (Rome 1903), 3-4. See also my discussion below on the likelihood of an Augustan restoration of the temple.

<sup>6</sup> *CIL* 6.2298: *Augusta Spes ad Forum Holitorium*. Also see *CIL* 5.707-708, 6.760, 10.6645 (Antium); as *Spes Augusta* it was also associated with the birthday of Augustus, *CIL* 6.2298, 32482.

<sup>7</sup> Plautus makes use of the personification as a source of hope and as a gift from the gods, *Cist.* 670, *Rud.* 231, *Men.* 1081 and *Merc.* 842-3, 867. See J. A. Hanson, "Plautus as a Source Book for Roman Religion," *TAPA* 90 (1959), 68-69, 81.

<sup>8</sup> For the cult outside Rome see *CIL* 10.6645 (Antium), 14.375.32 (Ostia), 14.2158 (Aricia), 14.2804 (Gabii); Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (above, n. 2), 330, n. 8. Not all of the associations between *Spes* and other deities played as significant a role as others, e.g., *Virtus and Patientia*, *CIL* 8.2728. The more perplexing connection of *Spes* with Venus may have been in specific relation with *Venus Genetrix*; see *CIL* 6.15594 (*Fortuna, Spes, Venus*) and below in my discussion of child-bearing, n. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (above, n. 2). See also *CIL* 4.1237. For the feast day of *Spes* and *Victoria* in the pre-Julian Calendar see *Remains of Old Latin*, vol. 4, *Loeb Classical Texts*, ed. E. H. Warmington (Cambridge, Mass. 1940), 454.

<sup>10</sup> *CIL* 1.<sup>2</sup> p. 281, 15-16: *sacrum Spei Saluti*; 14.2804, and *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, ed. G. Henzen (Berlin 1874), p. 85.

<sup>11</sup> *CIL*. 1.<sup>2</sup> 674.6 (Capua): *Spei Fidei Fortunae*; *Notitia urbis, VII Region*; *CIL* 10.3775, 14.2853, 14.2867: *Fortuna Praenestina statua Antonini Augusti Apollinis Isityches Spei*. See also under my discussion of *Fortuna populi Romani* and notes 28-30.

<sup>12</sup> *CIL* 14.2853; *Fortuna primigenia* did not, of course, always represent fertility, I. Kajanto, "Fortuna," *ANRW* 2.17.1, (1981), 506. Even as a Greek idea, however, children represented the "hope of the house" (Ae., *Ch.* 776), Fears (above, n. 1), 862, n. 146. For the Roman imagery see Cicero, *Clu.* 28, 32, 34; Seneca the Elder, *Cont.* 2.5.15, Seneca the Younger, *Cons. Helv.* 11.16.3 (*conceptas spes liberorum*). In *CIL* 6.1527.D.32 the phrase *spem habendi liberos* is connected with *fecunditas* (line 31); see further *CIL* 6.13952.2 and 6.7.4, pp. 5388-5390 for *Spes*, associated with children, and the recurring names *Sperata*, *Speratus* and other cognates which may suggest that a child was especially desired; also, E. Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres* (Berlin 1961), 1641.3: *magna patris spes*.

<sup>13</sup> P. Pouthier, *Ops et la conception divine de l'Abundance dans la religion romaine jusqu'à la mort d'Auguste* (Rome 1981), 142-145, 155-160, 166-168, 206-209. For agricultural imagery in connection with *spes* see Tibullus, 1.1.9-10; Columella, 3.3.15, 3.9.5, 5.11.9. Vergil sometimes combines imagery of youth and agriculture, *Geor.* 3.105, 473, 4.162; *CIL* 3. p. 825, 22: *spem frugum futurarum*.

<sup>14</sup> For examples see Caesar, *BG* 2.27.3, 3.26.4-5, 7.25.1-2; Livy, 1.23.10, 6.8.10; Cicero, *Phil.* 10.12, 12.5; Plautus, *Rud.* 680, *Bacch.* 893, *Cap.* 445, 517.

<sup>15</sup> See M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*<sup>2</sup> (New York 1961), 182.

<sup>16</sup> C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* (London 1951), 131-132, n. 1; Taeger (above, n. 2), 299; on Flavian propaganda and *Spes* see K. Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians* (Stuttgart and Berlin 1936), 24, 43, 47, 51.

<sup>17</sup> Virtues formulated by the term *Augustus* sometimes should be viewed both objectively and subjectively. See, for instance, the study of *Tranquillitas Augusti*, A. Arnaldi, "Motivi di celebrazione imperiale su manete ed epigrafi," *RIN* 82 (1980), 85-107; Arnaldi interprets *Tranquillitas* as representing both the existence of peace in the empire and the state of the emperor's own soul. See also Latte, *Römische Religionsgeschichte* (above, n. 2), 324, n. 1: "Ob man *Pax Augusti* oder *Pax Augusta* sagt ist dabei gleichgültig." Later coin legends also have *SPES AVG N*, *SPES AVG NOSTRI* and *SPES PROBI AVG* (Probus, *RIC* 789, 99).

<sup>18</sup> See also the anonymous *Consolatio ad Liviam* 365-6: *Maximus ille quidem iuvenum spes publica vixit et qua natus erat gloria summa domus*; 383: *quod spes impleverat maternaque vota Neronis*. Curtius, *Hist. Alex. Magni* 6.9.21 may even contain a subtle allusion to the connection between hope and the prince of youth: *Equitatus optimae exercitus parti, principibus nobilissimae iuventutis, eum* (Philotas) *praefeci, salutem, spem, victoriam meam fidei eius tutelaeque commisi*.

<sup>19</sup> H. Gaebler, *Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paonia* (Berlin 1934) vol. 2, 118 and *idem* "Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens," *ZN* 36 (1926), 118, 121; M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge 1946), 281.

<sup>20</sup> For examples of *spes* as evil quality see Cicero, *Mil.* 94, *Phil* 4.9, 7.14, 8.9, 12.7; Ovid, *A.A.* 1.445-46: *Spes... fallax... dea*; *CIL* 6.6314.4 (*spe frustra*) 6.7578.8, 16 (*Spes fallax*). There is also a poem, *De spe*, from late antiquity which is a melange of commonplaces, *Carmina codicis Vossiani* 415, *Anthologia Latina*, eds. F. Buecheler and A. Riese (Leipzig 1964), vol. 1.1.

<sup>21</sup> Hesiod, *Opera et dies* 96-99, Theognis 1135-1150. For literature see O. Lachnit, *Elpis. Eine Begriffsuntersuchung* (Diss. Tübingen 1965), 43-49; J. J. A. Schrijen, *Elpis. De voorstelling van de hoop in de Griekse literatuur tot Aristoteles* (Groningen 1965), 16ff., 42-50. M. L. West, *Hesiod. Works and Days* (Oxford 1978), 169-170. Sometimes the point is made that on the whole the Romans represented *Spes* more optimistically than the Greeks viewed *Elpis*, Walsh (above, n. 2), 33-34.

<sup>22</sup> A. Hackl, *Die spes als negativer Charakterisierungsbegriff in Caesars Bellum civile, Ciceros Catilinariens, Lucans Pharsalia* (Diss. Innsbruck 1963); F-H. Mutschler, *Erzählstil und Propaganda in Caesars Kommentarien* (Heidelberg 1975), 64-66; H. Plöger, *Studien zum literarischen Feldherrnporträt römischer Autoren des 1. Jahrhunderts vor Christus* (Diss. Kiel 1975), 178-180, who notes that *spes* is an ambivalent term.

<sup>23</sup> J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford 1979), 51. *Fiducia*, in fact, is linked with *spes* at times: Livy 10.25.4, 30.28.8-9, 40.12.4, 45.8.5; Caesar, *BC* 1.20.2. See also below on my discussion of Valerius Maximus, *De fiducia sui*.

<sup>24</sup> O. J. Brendel, *Prolegomena to the Study of Roman Art* (New Haven and London 1979), 153-156, 168-169.

<sup>25</sup> Sepulchral inscriptions often associated evil Fortune with Hope, F. Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (Leipzig 1895), 409, 1498, and F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New York 1922), 16, n. 217:

*Evasi effugi; Spes et Fortuna valete.  
Nihil mihi vobiscum. Ludificate alios.*

<sup>26</sup> This portrayal of Hope appeared on a sarcophagus of the late first century B.C. (?), P. Gusman, *L'Art décoratif de Rome* (Paris 1908), vol. 2, pl. 96.

<sup>27</sup> See Walsh (above, note 2). In fact, Christian virtues emphasized future rewards of the after life. See St. Paul, I *Cor.* 15.19: εἰ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ ἐν Χριστῷ ἡλπιότατες ἐσμεν μόνον, ἔλλεινότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμεν. Also see St. Ambrose, *De officiis ministrorum* 1.9.28. 1.16.59 (*PL* 16.32, 41).

<sup>28</sup> See Kajanto (above, n. 12), 517: "Fortuna, such as she appears in Roman religious life, was not the personification of blind chance. She remained primarily the goddess of luck, the bringer of good fortune."

<sup>29</sup> Hadrianic coinage (*RIC* 274, 275) shows two variations of the depiction of *Spes*; Hadrian, *RIC* 246 bears the legend *FORTVNA SPES*. The legend *SPES P R* (*RIC* 274), moreover, parallels *FORTVNA P. R*, which is also found in Hadrianic coinage (*RIC* 5).

<sup>30</sup> On the relationship between *Spes* and *Fortuna* see above, n. 11; on Horace, see G. Dumézil, "Les compagnes de la Fortune," *Fêtes romaines d'été et d'automne* (Paris 1975), 238-249.

<sup>31</sup> Hackl (above, n. 22), 38-39, makes the point that Cicero's idea of *recte sperare* (*Fam.* 14.4.5) was based upon reason, rather than emotion alone: "Denn die Haltung eines *recte sperare* gehorcht nicht den Emotionen, sondern orientiert sich an den Forderungen der Erfahrung und der berechnenden Vernunft; erkennt somit die Bedingungen, die die *ratio* stellt, an und lässt sich von ihr aus der Fülle der Möglichkeiten jene auswählen, für die die Gründe nicht nur nicht unzureichend sind oder gar völlig fehlen, sondern für die zureichende Gründe existieren. Diese Haltung des *recte sperare* rechnet demnach zwar auch immer noch mit einer gewissen Unsicherheit, dass das Gewollte und Gewünschte wirklich geschieht, aber die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Erfüllung ist sehr hoch." It should be added, however, that fortune determines the quality of hope (see Dumézil, above, n. 30), especially in Cicero, *Fam.* 14.4.1: *Quod si nos ad aliquam alicuius commodi aliquando recuperandi spem fortuna reservavit, minus est erratum a nobis*. See further below, n. 44.

<sup>32</sup> Thucydides 1.70.3: ἐπὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐέλπιδες. See also Xenophon, *An.* 2.1.18; B. Knox, *Oedipus at Thebes* (New Haven and London 1957), 22-23, 221-222; F. M. Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (London 1907 and repr. Philadelphia 1971), 167, n. 1-3; Lachnitt (above, n. 21), 115-119; Schrijen (above, n. 21), 108-114. Fears (above, n. 1), 862, n. 146, observes an important usage in Thucydides 3.57.3, which as we shall see, does approximate the Roman political concept and symbolism: ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡ μὲν ἐλπίς.

<sup>33</sup> Concerning Cicero, *De rep.* 2.5 see Instinsky (above, n. 1), 421. See also *Rab. Perd.* 34: ...neque eripueritis rei publicae spem libertatis, spem salutis, spem dignitatis; *Font.* 36: *populo Romano non metum belli, sed spem triumphis*. In *Verr.* 2.5.123 Cicero describes the subjects of Rome as *qui a parentibus spe nostri imperii nostraeque aequitatis suscepti*.

<sup>34</sup> Pouthier (above, n. 13), 209, n. 15, notes some hesitation in Cicero's deification of *Spes*. In *De natura deorum*, however, the discussion is argumentative and it is likely that Balbus represented Cicero's own viewpoint. For other references to *spes* see 3.61 and 3.88.

<sup>35</sup> See Fears (above, n. 1), 830, 833-41; J. Vogt, *Von Reichsgedanken der Römer* (Leipzig 1942), 118-69.

<sup>36</sup> In the letter to Lucceius (*Fam.* 5.12.5) Cicero includes *spes* among the human qualities which are connected with the vicissitudes of fortune and are hence worthy of treatment in a literary history. Concerning Cicero's letter and Livy see P. G. Walsh, "Livy's Preface and the Distortion of History," *AJP* 76 (1955), 369-383, and *idem*, *Livy. His Historical Aims and Methods* (Cambridge 1963), 177; B. L.

Ullmann, "History and Tragedy," *TAPA* 73 (1942), 25-43; A. D. Leeman, *Orationis ratio* (Amsterdam 1963), vol. 1, 173-174; E. Burck, "The Third Decade," *Livy*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London and Toronto 1971), 21-46. In Livy thus *spes* functions in two ways, both as virtue and vice. For instance, in 27.1.4-5 (also 9), *spes* appears as a fault (see also 22.3.14, 22.48.5). The Carthaginians, moreover, were deceived by *falsa atque inani spe* in 23.13.5 and Hannibal himself was plagued by vain hope (25.23.8: *alia subinde spes, postquam haec vana evaserat, excepit*). Livy's famous portrayal of Varro (22.61.15: *quod de re publica non desperasset*), on the other hand, implies that the Romans did not despair during the struggle.

<sup>37</sup> See H. H. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus: Soldier and Politician* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1970), 18-23, 27-32.

<sup>38</sup> J. R. Fears, *Princeps a Diis Electus: The Divine Election of the Emperor* (Rome 1977), 94-99, esp. 96, n. 20; S. McCormack, "Latin Prose Panegyrics," *Empire and Aftermath*, ed. T. A. Dorey (London 1975), 148.

<sup>39</sup> Concerning *felicitas imperatoria* see L. Zieske, *Felicitas. Eine Wortuntersuchung* (Hamburg 1972), 41-66, 203-205. See also H. Erckell, *Augustus, Felicitas, Fortuna. Lateinische Wortstudien* (Goeteborg 1952), 71-79.

<sup>40</sup> A parallel appears in Valerius Maximus 8.15.9: *si in uno Pompeio Magno omnia reponere perservasset, absumpto illo subiti casus incursu in quo spem esset habiturus, summo consensu adclamavit 'in te'.*

<sup>41</sup> See Plöger (above, n. 22), especially 180, n. 1-5.

<sup>42</sup> In *De lege agraria* 2.79 Cicero also refers to the urban population of Rome as induced by the hope and enjoyment of land: *quibus ista agri spes et iucunditas ostenditur?*

<sup>43</sup> Similiar language is found elsewhere: *Phil.* 3.29 (*spe...recuperandae libertatis*), 4.1 (*rei publicae...spem recuperandae*), 5.1 (*spemque attulit (sc. oratio) non modo salutis conservandae verum etiam dignitatis pristinae recuperandae*; 5.11 (*ingressi in spem rei publicae recuperandae sumus*), 7.1 (*ad auctoritatis pristinae spem revivescere*). See also *Phil.* 6.3, 8.32, 10.12, 20, 12.1, 5, 8, 9, 18; and *Fam.* 10.28.2: *Hic dies meaque contentio atque actio spem primum populo Romano attulit libertatis recuperandae.*

<sup>44</sup> In the epistles *spes* was often associated with *pax, libertas, salus*, etc.: *Att.* 7.4.2, 11.12.3, 11.19.1; *Fam.* 4.14.2, 6.6.2, 6.12.4, 6.21.1, 12.25.2. The most interesting ideas concern various republican leaders: Cassius and Brutus, *Fam.* 12.1.1, 12.2.3, 12.3.2, 12.10.1; *Ad Br.* 3.2, 18.3, 4, 5 (5: *spes libertatis nusquam nisi in vestrorum castrorum principiis est*); Cassius to Cicero in 43 B.C.: *testis es fuisse iudices meque ad optatam spem patriae non minimum tibi producendum putes* (*Fam.* 12.13.1); on Lepidus see *Fam.* 10.11.2, 10.33.4; Plancus and D. Brutus, *Fam.* 10.5.3, 10.14.1, 10.26.1, 11.11.1, 11.13a.4-5, 11.14.1, 11.18.2, 11.24.1, 11.25.1, 12.8.1; *Att.* 14.13.2. Also see *Att.* 8.2.4, *Fam.* 2.5.2, 10.8.1, 2, 3, 7, 12.22.1 for ideas of the hope of the republic and the Roman people.

<sup>45</sup> See *Att.* 16.1.4 for the question of confidence in Pansa: *in Pansa spes?*

<sup>46</sup> *Res Gestae* 1. See R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1951), 154-155; Ch. Wirszubski, *Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome during the late Republic* (Cambridge 1960), 100-106; A. U. Stylow, *Libertas und Liberalitas. Untersuchungen zur innenpolitischen Propaganda der Römer*, München 1972), 20-33.

<sup>47</sup> Fears (above, n. 1), 862. The text portrays Augustus as εὐεργέτης and σωτήρ, V. Ehrenberg and A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1955), p. 82, no. 98: ὁ Καῖσαρ τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν προλαβόντων [εὐαγγέλια πάντων ὑπὲρ] ἔθηκεν...ἐν τοῖς ἐσομένοις ἐλπίδα ὑπολιπὼν ὑπερβολῆς].

<sup>48</sup> Syme (above, n. 46), 112-114; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero* (London 1971), 271-274; H. Frisch, *Cicero's Fight for the Republic* (Copenhagen 1946), 142-159.

<sup>49</sup> Suetonius, *Aug.* 28.2: '*Ita mihi salvam ac sospitem rem publicam sistere in sua sede liceat atque eius rei fructum percipere, quem peto, ut optimi status auctor dicar et moriens ut feram mecum spem, mansura in vestigio suo fundamenta rei publicae quae iecero.*' The context of Augustus' edict is the emperor's contemplation of restoring the republic and his decision to maintain the rule of a single *princeps*.

<sup>50</sup> A. E. Gordon, *Album of Dated Latin Inscriptions* (Berkeley 1964), vol. 1, p. 19 (CIL 6.2295):

[?-SPEI] IN FORO HOLIT(orio) F(eriae)  
EX S(enatus) C(onsulto) (Q.E.D. IMP. CAESAR  
REM) PVBLIC(am) TRISTISS(imo) PIRICVLO (*sic*)  
(LIBERA)VIT.

While this inscription is not conclusive in itself, we can assume that the reconstruction of the temple of Hope was begun under Augustus. See M. E. Blake, *Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians* (Washington 1959), 12; also Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.49: *Isdem temporibus deum aedes vetustate aut igni abolitas coeptasque ab Augusto dedicavit* (sc. Tiberius)...*Spei aedes a Germanico sacatur; hanc A. Atilius voverat eodem bello.*

<sup>51</sup> See Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.71.3 in which Germanicus stimulated the troops with glory and hope. See also 1.33. At the funeral of Germanicus the people cried that the republic had fallen and that all hope is now gone: *concidisse rem publicam, nihil spei reliquum clamitabant* (3.4.1).

<sup>52</sup> In other passages of the *Aeneid* *spes* plays a similar role in regards to Ascanius and "the hope of Iulus" (1.556, 4.274: *Ascanium surgentum et spes heredis Iuli*; 6.364, 10.524-25). Iulus and Ascanius should be taken to represent the Augustan lineage. See G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus. Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis* (Meisenheim am Glan 1971), 63-64, 157-162, 228, 271-272. See also A. F. Stocker, "Vergil in the Service of Augustus," *Vergilius* 26 (1980), 1-9.

<sup>53</sup> See T. Mommsen, "*Commentaria Ludorum Saecularium quintorum et septimorum,*" *Ephemeris Epigraphica* (Berlin 1899), vol. 8, 225-309. Concerning Horace's poem and the chorus of youths see E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957), 366-367, 378; W. Wili, *Horaz und die augusteische Kultur* (Basel 1948), 346-354.

<sup>54</sup> See A. Wallace-Hadrill, "Family and Inheritance in the Augustan Marriage Laws," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 27 (1981), 58-80 and P. Csillag, *The Augustan Laws on Family Relations* (Budapest 1976), 77-146.

<sup>55</sup> Fears (above, n. 1), 862; Instinsky (above, n. 1), 426; A. J. Woodman, *Velleius Paterculus. The Tiberian Narrative* (2.94-131) (Cambridge 1977), 130-131; also, I. Lana, *Velleio Paterculo o della propaganda* (Turin 1952), 221-222.

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## THE AWESOME HERMIT

### *The Symbolic Significance of the Hermit as a Possible Research Perspective*<sup>1</sup>

JOHN HOWE

Romuald then dwelt ... in the territory of Rainerius, who afterwards became Marquis of Tuscany. Now this Rainerius had put aside his own wife on the grounds of consanguinity and married the wife of a relative whom he had persecuted and killed. This is why Romuald, so that he would not become a participant in the crime, did not want to remain in the territory as a guest, but sent him a gold piece for water and another for wood. Although Rainerius refused them, preferring to give his property rather than to receive anything from the holy man, nevertheless he eventually accepted them rather than have Romuald leave.

When Rainerius had become lord of the region, he used to say that "Not the Emperor, not any other man, is able to strike great fear into me in the way that the appearance of Romuald terrifies me—before his face I do not know what to say, nor can I find any excuses by which I could defend myself." In truth, the holy man possessed by divine gift the grace that whatever sinners, especially powerful men of the world, would come into his presence would soon be struck with internal trembling ("tremefactis visceribus") as if they were in the presence of the majesty of God.

—Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*.<sup>2</sup>

According to Peter Damian's *life* of Romuald of Ravenna, written about fifteen years after Romuald's death between ca. 1025 and late 1027,<sup>3</sup> the very sight of the holy hermit so overwhelmed the future Marquis Rainerius that he could neither bear to face him nor to lose him. Rudolph Otto does not describe the "*mysterium tremendum*" more graphically.<sup>4</sup> What terrors must have racked Italy at the turn of the millenium if Romuald's very presence had this effect on all sinners!

Yet Romuald was no isolated figure. In the eleventh and early twelfth century, crowds of clerics and laymen, men and women, rich and poor flocked to the mountains and forests in what has been called a "Renaissance of eremitical asceticism."<sup>5</sup> Peter the Hermit (d. 1115), riding on his donkey, led tens of thousands of poor men to their deaths on the ill-fated "Popular Crusade."<sup>6</sup> Norbert of Xanten (d. 1134), barefoot and clad in skins, received from the

pope himself permission to preach throughout Europe, and ultimately founded the Praemonstratesian order and ascended to the Archbishopric of Magdeburg.<sup>7</sup> Less fortunate was the similarly clad Henry of Lausanne (d. post 1136) whose authority to preach was revoked but who continued on a heretical career for many more years.<sup>8</sup> Eilbert of Crespín (d. 1140) dwelt in a reclusory so surrounded by suppliants that it appeared to be a city under siege, a place where crowds of men too numerous to secure private confession would yell out their sins to the saint.<sup>9</sup> Not only the hermit's hagiographers but even the critics who disparaged the rabble ("vulgus") who followed him attest his popularity.<sup>10</sup> Perhaps its best witness is the new vernacular literature where the hermit, not the priest or monk, becomes the representative of the Church.<sup>11</sup>

Why were Romuald and his fellow hermits so popular? Scholars have answered in different ways: medieval historians have made unsystematic observations, anthropologists and sociologists have abstracted the hermit's social role out of his religious milieu, and religious studies scholars have developed a possible way to return it by focusing on the holy man's presentation of Christ. In this study I indicate the achievements and limitations of these methods, and then propose a different approach to the problem of the hermit's popularity—examination of the hermit as a religious symbol—which not only incorporates the best insights of the previous methods but also provides a basis for future studies of radical ascetics in general.

Medieval and Western Church historians have tended to analyze the hermit's popularity descriptively and non-systematically. The resulting diversity is illustrated in the best available survey of the eleventh/twelfth century heremitical revival, the published reports of the conference on hermitism held at La Mendola in 1963. In the opening address Cinzio Violante suggested that the hermit became a familiar medieval figure because he had more opportunity than the monk to mix with the common people and because his non-conformity and extravagant excesses appeared marvelous to the popular mentality. Jean Leclercq noted that the hermit's forest home was, in romances anyway, the refuge of lovers and the home of beasts who could lead hunters to him. Étienne Delaruelle implied that the hermit's apostolic work, especially his evangelical poverty,

reinforced the influence of his preaching, penitential preaching that otherwise might not have been available to the masses. Anna Maria Finoli emphasized that the knight and hermit both ventured in the mysterious world of the forest and both had a heroic individualistic conception of life which led them to abandon the usual, the mediocre, the banal for an ideal of perfection. All these observations have some merit, but no single one of them convincingly explains widespread popular veneration. Their very diversity brings to mind the descriptions of the elephant given by the blind men in the ancient fable, each describing the beast in terms of the part held.<sup>12</sup>

Students of cross-cultural religious phenomena have a broader perspective on hermit popularity. They postulate a social function for the hermit, seeing not only the hermits of Western Christianity but also other radical ascetics such as the *malamatis* of Islam, the *bikkhus* of Sri Lanka, and the prophets of Israel (whose very conduct was to offer “signs and wonders”). They all are said to exhibit “charismatic leadership,” Max Weber’s concept of leadership by the gift of God, an irrational leadership demanding total assent which can serve as a focus of opposition to established institutions and thus may be favored in traditional societies in times of crisis.<sup>13</sup>

In recent years scholars have attempted to elucidate why charismatic leadership is so often attributed to dramatic ascetics. Mary Douglas claims that the body image naturally reflects religious and social perceptions, and that therefore the shaggy unkempt ascetic provides the perfect focus of opposition to tightly organized societies.<sup>14</sup> Weston La Barre sees the holy man as a perverted father figure for societies that choose to respond to social distress by reverting back to childhood.<sup>15</sup> Victor Turner finds that the distance from the world established by the pilgrim (a figure distinguished from the hermit by the fact that he is going someplace) makes him a potential witness to value beyond the structured society, a symbol of a *communitas* that transcends the structures of everyday life.<sup>16</sup> Despite widely different presuppositions, these authors see the conspicuous ascetic as an expression of non-secular value—by remotion we might say as an expression of the sacred.

Such insights help explain the fear and trembling that seized the future Marquis Rainerius when he beheld Romuald. Romuald was “wholly other.” Rainerius links the fear to Romuald’s face, which suggests Emmanuel Levinas’ philosophical conception of the “face” of another as the one vehicle that breaks a person’s infinite egocentricity and leads to an awareness of independent values.<sup>17</sup> Also fearsome was Romuald’s presence and aspect—presumably his unshaven hair, emaciated body, bare feet and bare legs, unwashed hair shirt, filthy fur overgarment, and staff—which produced a total effect so awesome, that upon meeting Romuald the Emperor Henry II cried out, “Would that my soul were in your body!”<sup>18</sup>

Yet the cross-cultural theories of the impact of ascetics do not fully elucidate Romuald’s charisma. Few saints’ *lives* speak abstractly of *sanctitas*, and none of *communitas*. Rainerius perceived Romuald through his Christian tradition—a mediated perception. To him Romuald presented Christian holiness, not “the holy.”

Some scholars, particularly in religious studies, have begun to solve the problem of how a holy man is perceived by stressing his recapitulation and perceived recapitulation of his religious founder. Masaharu Anesaki traced Nichiren’s “thorough going conformity to, or emulation of, Buddha’s deeds and works.”<sup>19</sup> Earle Waugh emphasized the Sufi perception of Mohammed as archetype.<sup>20</sup> And most recently William Clebsch has identified in religious men different types of Christian spirituality, finding “a variety of Christianities, evinced in various manifestations of Christ.”<sup>21</sup> This orientation is theologically impeccable: it places the perception of the holy man’s sacredness at the orthodox heart of his religion.

Yet the recapitulation of Christ model may not be fully adequate to describe how the hermit’s holiness is perceived. Although Rainerius did not attempt to explicate his feelings of awe, a priest did, whose toothache Romuald’s power had healed, when he loudly began to thank God that “truly an angel of God, truly a holy prophet, a great light hidden from the world appears in our region”—he would have continued in this vein except that Romuald’s disciples, who knew that such words upset their master, were finally able to quiet him.<sup>22</sup>

Of course, Christ might well have been perceived explicitly or implicitly in Romuald. He had traded the great war horse that Emperor Otto III had given him for an ass, which Damian says was “an animal he rode more freely, out of love of our Redeemer who had ridden on the back of an ass.” He healed a man by blowing on him “just as our Redeemer is read to have blown, when he deigned to bestow the Holy Spirit on the apostles (John 20:22).”<sup>23</sup>

Even more prominently, however, Romuald seemed to be a prophet. Not only did the priest hail him as a holy prophet, but he was derided as a false prophet when one of his nine reported foretellings appeared improbable. In ecstasies he received divine wisdom to expound the Scriptures. His fasting and rags gave him a prophetic appearance. He healed as Elijah healed Naaman in the Jordan (IV Kings 5:10). And in an unhistorical projection Peter Damian says that he died at 120 years of age, which is the age Moses attained.<sup>24</sup>

Romuald also appears as a heroic warrior: not a military warrior—for it was a turbulent family feud that prompted Romuald’s first ascetical retreat—but a spiritual warrior. Romuald, a soldier of Christ (“miles Christi”), fights perpetually. His asceticism wars against his own body. He battles with demons, so successfully that requests for advice force him to agree to write a *Libellus de Pugna Demonum*. He miraculously avoids assassination. A heroic paradigm underlying all these conflicts is revealed by the challenges Romuald issues to his enemies, insults in the style of contemporary epic: to his own carnal nature, when good food was served, “O gullet, gullet, you know how sweet, how delightful this food is to you—but woe to you, for you will never taste it;” to Satan prowling about the hermitage (actually to some monks compelled by natural necessity to leave camp at night), “Where are you going now, most evil one? What is there in the desert for you who have been thrown out of heaven? Get going, you dirty dog! Vanish, you old snake!”; to the devil appearing as an Ethiopian, “Behold, I am prepared—come and show if you have any strength! Are you completely powerless? ...”<sup>25</sup>

Romuald is also associated with even less Christian aspects of the sacred, aspects focused in the medieval image of the wild man, a hairy, unkempt, solitary, irrational being, living in uncivilized

space, embodying aspects of ancient pagan dieties such as Pan and Silvanus and witnessing the same psychological dynamics that had called forth these predecessors.<sup>26</sup> Romuald is similarly unshaven, ragged, often solitary; he feigns madness on one occasion, and associates with a hermit reckoned insane by the less devout; he lives in swamps, cemeteries, and other wild places. He spent so much time in one swamp that he temporarily lost his hair and turned green.<sup>27</sup>

Even more is echoed in Romuald. For        priest healed of toothache he is “truly an angel of God,” an image Damian also evokes when he compares Romuald to one of the Seraphim.<sup>28</sup> His mystical experiences are twice compared with Paul’s.<sup>29</sup> He is a virtual martyr.<sup>30</sup> He imitates the desert fathers.<sup>31</sup> He is a temple of the Holy Spirit.<sup>32</sup>

Romuald’s impact on Rainerius and others involved a complex interaction of historical circumstances, a cross-culturally known charismatic role, and a contemporary Christian perception of his role that went far beyond imitation of Christ. What is needed is a research stance that can handle all these variables. I propose that historians of religion might do well to treat the hermit as a religious symbol, a single image expressing various aspects of the sacred. The word symbol has been misused and abused, but this rough handling has given it a valuable ambiguity for it can express at one and the same time the symbol as a cipher (an arbitrary sign), the symbol as a sign with some inherent connection with its referent(s), and the symbol as the reality itself. A religious symbol, thus, is something which designates the sacred, is a channel for the sacred, or is in some mysterious way the sacred reality itself. The religious symbol tends to sum up what is known about the sacred, and gains in power by being multivalent, by synthesizing many references into a single image.<sup>33</sup>

Scholars have rarely treated ascetics as religious symbols. They have studied “divine men” where the human and divine mix explicitly; they have noted institutionalized sacred roles; but they have not analyzed systematically the other ways in which men act as a cipher for or a channel for the sacred.<sup>34</sup> Mircea Eliade, the preeminent historian of religions, recognizes that a life history may

become a paradigm, but never treats the ascetic as a “hierophany.”<sup>35</sup> The most recent symposium on medieval symbolism is similarly silent.<sup>36</sup>

Yet a change may be underway. Peter Brown describes the prophetic and angelic aspects of the Late Roman Syrian monk and notes that such a holy man is “a living icon bringing dribblets of the sacred into the world.”<sup>37</sup> Here in *Numen* in 1981 Ilana Friedrich Silber finds that the Theravadin village monks are primarily expected to conform to a highly stylized image, so that “it seems that monks are not fully required to adhere to the highest values, it is enough if they symbolize them.”<sup>38</sup>

To demonstrate that the hermit can be profitably analyzed as a religious symbol, one need look no further than the first hermit of Christian tradition, John the Baptist. His charisma was well described nearly 2000 years ago, when Jesus is said to have replied to John’s disciples:

What went you out in the desert to see? A reed shaken with the wind? But what went you out to see? A man clothed in soft garments? Behold, they that are clothed in soft garments are in the house of kings. But what went you out to see? A Prophet? Yea, I tell you, and more than a prophet. For this is he of whom it is written: ‘Behold, I send my angel before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee (Malachi 3:1).’

Mathew 11:7-10

Christ here is fully aware that John himself was a wonder. Men went out not just to hear his preaching but to *see* him. He had a charisma that could not be solely explained in terms of his accessibility, his poverty, his collected asceticisms, or his camel’s hair jacket. He was a *locus* of the sacred.

Christ’s words here attempt to describe this holiness. True, the task is technically impossible if the sacred is presumed to be ineffable, but Christ is able to interpret the sacredness well enough for the tradition by linking John to two sacred categories accepted by his audience. John was a prophet—a man who could convey the divine message to men. And he was more than a prophet. He was an ἄγγελος, a messenger, in Latin translation an angel. That Christ could have proceeded even further is illustrated by Peter Damian’s acclamation of the Baptist as “patriarch, prophet, angel, apostle, evangelist, virgin, martyr, precursor, and friend of the bridegroom.”<sup>39</sup> To multiply the resonances of the sacred individual

is rhetorically effective, so long as he apparently conforms to the sacred categories cited and so long as the hagiographic language itself has not become too devalORIZED by such encomiums. Since the primary aim of a hagiographer, according to the dean of the Bollandists, Baudouin de Gaiffier, is to "further the cult of the saint,"<sup>40</sup> one would expect that a virtuous hagiographer would assimilate his hero to all the sacred models he could.

What do these categories mean? In the case of John the Baptist Christians have unanimously accepted him as a literal prophet but have divided on whether or not he was an actual angel.<sup>41</sup> One advantage of viewing the hermit as a religious symbol is that this term's inherent ambiguity enables us to avoid the sometimes impossible task of determining how literally a popular audience might interpret the sacred categories applied to its holy patrons.

Romuald's impact can be understood when he is viewed as a symbol, for he was perceived to stand in a direct relationship to the sacred, a relationship that human beings in the world could only perceive and express by analogy with other sacred models. Like other pious Christians, Romuald himself, in designing his life, would have conscientiously assimilated himself to sacred paradigms: he would have lived angelically, spoken out like a prophet, followed Christ, and preached apostolically (a rich analysis of ancient and medieval Christian models can be found in Jean Leclercq's *La vie parfaite*).<sup>42</sup> Sometimes he would have done this indirectly by imitating other holy men such as the desert fathers. He would not have been immune to the popular awe attached to warfare and wilderness. About fifteen years after his death, his witness of Christian sacredness was memorialized and almost certainly extrapolated in the *Vita Romualdi* by Peter Damian, whose sources were disciples and friends of the saint, men who also might well have seen in Romuald an angel of God, a holy prophet, a great light hidden from the world. Moreover, Damian will have conformed their reminiscences to his own and to his audience's conceptions of the holy life, tending to expand not only orthodox Christian images but also more popular ones. Yet, given the fact that Romuald was hailed as a saint while he lived, that a continuous community tradition spans the fifteen years between his life and Damian's work, and that Damian is a relatively conscientious

author, there is no reason to presume that the essential character of the perception of Romuald's sacredness differs greatly from the way it was seen during his lifetime.<sup>43</sup> We thus find him intimately involved with the sacred models of his contemporary Christianity; he verifies them by revealing them, and they verify his mission by placing his power into an accepted context.

The symbolic perspective provides a way to understand the popularity of the medieval hermit. He was venerated because he was connected with and expressed the sacred. This recognition pulls together the diverse observations advanced by the La Mendola scholars: his curious extravagances witness a reality beyond normal life; his mysterious forest places him into a pre-Christian sacred realm; his poverty is the poverty of Christ and of the apostles; his knightly connections link him to heroic values. The symbolic perspective reveals that to explain the hermit's popularity solely in terms of his alleged greater propinquity to the common people or of his curiosity-provoking asceticism is as inadequate as it would be to explain the crucifix's popularity in terms of the availability of materials or of its aesthetic qualities—in reality both are popular primarily because they efficiently condense the multiple resonances of Christian mythology. They are symbols that admirably convey the sacred.

One of the least studied areas of religion is the role of holy men, the role of modeling within a tradition. Can recognition of the hermit and other radical ascetics as religious symbols provide a basis for research? At least it should help avoid the impressionistic quality of non-selective description, the deemphasis on the mediating tradition characteristic of sociological abstraction, and the far too timeless image, constant despite varying shades and emphases, that results from concentration on recapitulation of the founder. At best it enables the holy man to be recognized for his essential holiness, whose expression in all sorts of orthodox and folk images, an expression varying over time, provides a remarkable index of change as well as of continuity.

The symbolic perspective may help illuminate changes in the hermit's social importance. Why, for example, do hermits suddenly have a new popularity in eleventh/early twelfth century Western

Europe? In what ways were they symbolically efficient religious symbols for that society? In what ways did they express the sacred better than, for example, the monks of Cluny? And why and how did the eremitical movement institutionalize and decline in relative importance after the mid-twelfth century?

Comparison of the sacred resonances attributed to holy men might help reveal significant similarities and differences between various regions and schools of asceticism. For example, does the hermit's unusually great popularity in medieval England rest on any differences of perception of him versus his fellows on the Continent? Or can the symbolic perspective shed light on the exact relationship between the tenth century Italo-Greek hermits and the Latin revival of hermitism first in Italy and then in the north—are the Italo-Latin hermits perceived in ways closer to the Italo-Greek hermits than are the northern hermits, the pattern that would be postulated if diffusion were a factor? What are the sources of the eremitical revival in seventeenth century France?

Finally, recognition of the hermit's symbolic function may provide a basis for cross-cultural comparison of ascetics. Although universal biographical patterns have not yet been well studied, the tight cluster of traits that comprise the radical ascetic life provides a possible place to begin. How do the values attached to a Western Christian hermit compare to those attached to a ragged Sufi wanderer or to a Ceylonese hermit? How do the similarities and differences of their religious traditions affect their witness of the sacred?

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<sup>1</sup> I dedicate this study to Richard Martin and to all the members of the Department of Religious Studies of Arizona State University whose hospitality and encouragement made my work there in Spring 1981 an exciting interdisciplinary experience.

<sup>2</sup> *Petri Damiani Vita Beati Romualdi*, ed. Giovanni Tabacco (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 94; Rome, 1957), lx, pp. 82-83 [hereinafter cited as *Vita Romualdi*, followed by the chapter numbers in Roman, and the page numbers in Arabic].

<sup>3</sup> The dates of both Romuald's death and of the composition of the *Vita Romualdi* are less certain than the literature suggests. The *Vita Romualdi*, prol., p. 9, explicit-

ly places Damian's work about fifteen years after the death of Romuald. However, the nearly universal dating of Romuald's death to 1027 rests ultimately on the testimony of Guido Grandi (d. 1742) that he had read this date in many codices and that it represented the tradition of Romuald's Camaldolese order, testimony vitiated by Grandi's authorship of various hagiographical forgeries and by his experiments with other dates (see Tabacco, "Prefazione," *Ibid.*, p. liv). Using the *Vita Romualdi* and diplomatic evidence, Tabacco placed Romuald's *obit* between 1023 and 1027, and therefore Damian's *life* of Romuald between ca. 1038 and ca. 1042.

Today we can narrow the possible range to between ca. 1040 and ca. 1042, thanks to the revised chronology of Peter Damian's entry into monastic *life* set forth in Giovanni Spinelli, "La data dell'ordinazione sacerdotale di S. Pier Damiani," *Benedictina*, 19 (1972), pp. 595-605. Spinelli's location of Damian's ordination in Ravenna in 1036/1037 or later, prior to his entrance into monastic life, does not permit composition of the *Vita Romualdi* before about 1040, even if Damian had only a minimum novitiate, because of his known two year monastic stay at Pomposa (see Dante Balboni, "San Pier Damiano, maestro e discepolo in Pomposa," *Benedictina*, 22 (1975), pp. 73-89), prior to residence at San Vincenzo at Cagli (*Patrologia Latina*, v. 144, cols. 124, 430) where he wrote at least part of the *Vita Romualdi* (*Vita Romualdi*, lvii, p. 98).

<sup>4</sup> See especially Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy, An Inquiry into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational*, 2nd ed., trans. John W. Harvey (1950, rpt. London, 1971), pp. 12-24.

<sup>5</sup> The Renaissance terminology and a concise overview of the movement itself are found in Ernst Werner, *Pauperes Christi: Studien zu sozialreligiösen Bewegungen in Zeitalter des Reformpapsttums* (Leipzig, 1956), pp. 13-17 and 25-28.

<sup>6</sup> On Peter, still basic is Heinrich Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremit: Ein kritischer Beitrag zur Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges* (Leipzig, 1879). Peter's later career is described in Charles Dereine, *Les chanoines réguliers au diocèse de Liège avant saint Norbert* (Université de Louvain Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3 sér., 44; Louvain, 1952), pp. 137-59.

<sup>7</sup> *Vita Norberti*, iv-v, ed. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, v. 12 (1856), pp. 673-74.

<sup>8</sup> On Henry of Lausanne's costume and popularity, see Marcia L. Colish, "Peter of Bruys, Henry of Lausanne, and the Façade of Saint-Gilles," *Traditio*, 28 (1972), pp. 451-60; esp. 453; and Robert Ian Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (New York, 1977), passim, esp. pp. 46-114.

<sup>9</sup> Robert of Ostrevant, *Vita Aiberti*, iii, ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, v. 1 of April (1675), p. 678.

<sup>10</sup> Among the uncommitted or hostile witnesses to the new popularity of hermitism are Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, II, viii, ed. *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Historiens occidentaux* (Paris, 1879), v. 4, p. 142; Marbode of Rennes, *Epist.*, vi, ed. *Patrologia Latina*, v. 171, cols. 148-85, Ivo of Chartres, *Epist.*, cxcii, ed. *Patrologia Latina*, v. 161, col. 201; Paganus Bolotinus, *De Falsis Heremitis Qui Vagando Discurrunt*, lines 86, 133-36, 320-38, ed. Jean Leclercq, "Le poème de Payen Bolotinus contre les faux ermites," *Revue bénédictine*, 48 (1958), pp. 79, 80, 84; the anonymous author of verses against Geoffrey Babion, lines 1-20, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Mittheilungen aus Handschriften," *Neues Archiv*, 8 (1883), p. 192; and Orderic Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII xvi-xxvii, ed. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, v. 4 (Oxford Medieval Texts; Oxford, 1973), pp. 326, 330-32.

<sup>11</sup> On the frequency of hermits in Romance literature, see Charles P. Weaver, *The Hermit in English Literature from the Beginnings to 1660* (George Peabody College for Teachers Contributions to Education 11; Nashville, Tenn., 1924); Anna Maria Finoli, "La figura dell'eremita nella letteratura antico-francese," *L'Eremitismo in Occidenti nei secoli XI e XII: Atti della seconda Settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 30 agosto-6 settembre 1962* (Pubblicazioni dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Contributi, ser. 3, var. 4; Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali 4; Milan, 1965) [hereinafter *Eremitismo*], pp. 581-91; and Angus J. Kennedy, "The Hermit's Role in French Arthurian Romance (c. 1170-1530)," *Romania*, 95 (1974), pp. 54-83.

<sup>12</sup> *Eremitismo*, pp. 18, 27, 218-28, 587.

<sup>13</sup> Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff et al. (New York, 1968), v. 1, pp. 241-54; v. 3, pp. 1111-57. An overview of Weber's theory of charisma and of subsequent interpretations can be found in S. N. Eisenstadt, "Introduction," *Max Weber on Charisma and Institution Building: Selected Papers* (The Heritage of Sociology; Chicago, 1968), pp. ix-lvi. Current developments can be found in Bryan R. Wilson, *The Noble Savages: The Primitive Origins of Charisma and Its Contemporary Survival* (Quantum Books; Berkeley, 1975); Goerge P. Boss, "Essential Aspects of the Concept of Charisma," *The Southern Speech Communication Journal*, 41 (1976), pp. 300-13; Julien Freund, "Le charisme selon Max Weber," *Social Compass*, 23 (1976), pp. 383-95; Thomas E. Dow Jnr., "An Analysis of Weber's Work on Charisma," *The British Journal of Sociology*, 29 (1978), pp. 83-93; and Constans Seyfarth, "The West German Discussion of Max Weber's Sociology of Religion since the 1960s," *Social Compass*, 27 (1980), pp. 9-25.

<sup>14</sup> Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (New York, 1970), pp. 65-81, 85-86.

<sup>15</sup> Weston La Barre, *The Ghost Dance: Origins of Religion* (New York, 1972), pp. 329, 346.

<sup>16</sup> Victor Turner, "The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal," *History of Religions*, 12 (1972-73), p. 221, rpt. in *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, NY, 1974), p. 208. Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (New York, 1978), pp. 11, 31, 34. Turner's perspective is developed further in André Drooger, "Symbols of Marginality in the Biographies of Religious and Secular Innovators," *Numen*, 27 (1980), 105-21.

<sup>17</sup> Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority*, trans. Alphonso Lingis (Duchesne Studies Philosophical Series 24; Pittsburg, 1969), pp. 79-81.

<sup>18</sup> *Vita Romualdi*, xiii, lii, lxiii, lxv; pp. 35, 95, 105, 108.

<sup>19</sup> Masaharu Anesaki, *Nichiren the Buddhist Prophet* (1916, rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1966), p. 133.

<sup>20</sup> Earle Waugh, "Following the Beloved: Mohammed as Model in the Sufi Tradition," *The Biographical Process: Studies in the History and Psychology of Religion*, ed. by Frank E. Reynolds and Donald Capps (Religion and Reason 11; The Hague, 1976), p. 76.

<sup>21</sup> William A. Clebsch, *Christianity in European History* (New York, 1979), p. vi.

<sup>22</sup> *Vita Romualdi*, xlvi, p. 88.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvi, liii; pp. 54, 96.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, xliii, xxii, xxx, xxxi, xxxii, xxxiii, xxvi, xxxviii, xliiii, xlvi, l, lv, lvi, lxv, lxviii; pp. 35, 48, 66, 67-68, 69-70, 76-77, 81, 86, 88, 93, 97, 107, 111-13.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, i, iii, vii, xvii-xviii, xxiv, xxxiii, xli, xlv, lii, lxi-lxiii, lxvi; pp. 14-15, 19, 26-27, 39-44, 51, 69, 70-72, 83-84, 86-87, 95, 102-04, 108-09. On epic insults, see Gerald Herman, "The Battlefield Taunt: Violence and Humor in the *Chansons de Geste*," *Annuaire mediaevale*, 13 (1972), pp. 125-34.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology* (Cambridge, 1952), passim, esp. 1, 9-10, 24-30. The wild man has now merited his own exhibition at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, catalogued by Timothy Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980).

<sup>27</sup> *Vita Romualdi*, i, xiii, xvi, xx, xxiii, xxxv; pp. 14, 35, 38, 45-46, 50, 74.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxv, xlvi; pp. 74, 88.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxi, li; pp. 68, 93.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxviii, lxiii; pp. 79-81, 105.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, viii, xxxiii, lii, lxiii; pp. 28, 73, 95, 105.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, xl, p. 83.

<sup>33</sup> A brief historical survey of the word symbol and its interpretations can be found in René Alleau, *La Science des symboles: Contribution à l'étude des principes et des méthodes de la symbolique générale* (Bibliothèque scientifique; Paris, 1977), pp. 29-62, who also provides a select bibliography (pp. 273-83). In regard to social science symbolic research, see Raymond Firth, *Symbols Public and Private* (Symbols, Myth, and Ritual Series; Ithaca, NY, 1972), pp. 54-240. An excellent introduction to the wide range of interdisciplinary studies on symbolism is Ioan Lewis, *Symbols and Sentiments: Cross Cultural Studies in Symbolism* (London, 1977).

<sup>34</sup> On "divine men" see Ludwig Bieler, *Θεῖος Ἄνθρωπος: Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (1934-35, rpt. Darmstadt, 1967). On sacred roles see G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in Essence and Manifestation*, trans. by J. E. Turner (1938, rpt. Gloucester, Mass., 1967), pp. 192-241.

<sup>35</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries: The Encounter between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Realities*, trans. Philip Mairet (1960, rpt. New York, 1967), p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> Neglect of the symbolic function of the hermit can be seen in the complete absence of this subject in *Simboli e simbologia nell'alto medioevo, 3-9 aprile 1975*, 2 vols. (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 23; Spoleto, 1976). Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny's suggestively titled "L'homme comme symbole: Le microcosme" limits itself to the classical image of man as microcosm (v. 1, pp. 129-95). A theoretical framework that could be applied to ascetical symbolism is set forth in Jacques le Goff, "Les gestes symboliques dans la vie sociale. Les gestes de la vassalité" (v. 2, pp. 678-84), but no such application has been made.

<sup>37</sup> Peter Brown, "A Dark-Age Crisis: Aspects of the Iconoclastic Controversy," *The English Historical Review*, 88 (1973), pp. 12, 21, rpt. in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1982), pp. 268, 281. "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 61 (1971), p. 95, rpt. *ibid.*, p. 140. See also *The Making of Antiquity* (Cambridge/London, 1978), p. 94.

<sup>38</sup> Ilana Friedrich Silber, "Dissent through Holiness. The Case of the Radical Renouncer in Theravada Buddhist Countries," *Numen*, 28 (1981), p. 174.

<sup>39</sup> Peter Damian, *Sermo xxiii: In Nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae*, ed. *Patrologia Latina*, v. 144, col. 636.

<sup>40</sup> Baudouin de Gaiffier, "Hagiographie et historiographie: Quelques aspects du problème," *La storiografia altomedievale, 10-16 aprile 1969* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 17; Spoleto, 1970), p. 140.

<sup>41</sup> The Christian tradition identifying John the Baptist as an angel is treated in Jean Daniélou, *The Work Of John the Baptist*, trans. Joseph A. Horn (Baltimore, 1966), pp. 145-46.

<sup>42</sup> Jean Leclercq, *La Vie parfaite: Points de vue sur l'essence de l'état religieux* (Tradition monastique 1; Paris, 1948).

<sup>43</sup> Damian's *Vita Romualdi* describes the living Romuald as a holy man who receives many valuable donations from awestruck magnates and who wins so many people for the eremitical life that he threatens to turn the world into a hermitage; a man so revered as holy that plotters attempt to capture and/or kill him to secure his relics (*Vita Romualdi*, xiii, xxvi, xxxiii, xxxv, xxxvii, xliii, xliiii, xlv; pp. 35, 55, 70-71, 74-75, 78, 85, 104-06, 108). This testimony is corroborated by documents and by the testimony of Bruno of Querfurt (d. 1009), evidence set forth by Tabacco in *Eremitismo*, pp. 73-121. On the general respect for Damian's integrity, see, for example, the article in F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. (London, 1974), p. 1072.

## BOOK REVIEW

ZUESSE, Evan M., *Ritual Cosmos: The Sanctification of Life in African Religions*-Ohio University Press: Athens, Ohio 1979, X + 256 p. No price stated.

Readers familiar with Evan M. Zuesse's previous studies of African religions and rituals will doubtless welcome the publication of this book, the most comprehensive presentation of his stimulating views to date. Many will also be pleased to see that Zuesse's critique of earlier scholars' works has lost none of its sharpness. Otto, Evans-Pritchard, Horton, Leach, and H. W. Turner are all taken to task for allowing their biases to cloud their understanding of religious phenomena. Even the admittedly "brilliant" Mary Douglas is said to have completely misunderstood major aspects of African spirituality.

According to Zuesse, neither anthropologists nor scholars of religion have correctly interpreted the fundamental orientation of African religions. The former have generally been uncomfortable with religious explanations of cult and have sought to explain away religion in terms of sociology, psychology, or philosophy. The latter, while sufficiently comfortable with religious meanings and intentionalities, have understood spiritually almost totally in terms of Western categories. When the two disciplines have met in a single work,<sup>1</sup> the result (despite some important insights) has generally been the imposition of Western theological categories upon the anthropological data. Nowhere has what Zuesse views as the fundamental type of spirituality characteristic of African religions, "the religion of structure", been adequately understood.

"Rudolf Otto well describes a type of spirituality in which the transcendental intentionality centers on power or being outside of structure; salvation is a natural longing for those that experience such unworldly transcendence. But the religious intentionality centered on holy structure seeks to actualize this structure in all aspects of experience; its goal is the active sanctification of life, not escape from it al 'illusory' 'evil' or 'sinful'. Religions of salvation have a low estimation of all that is relative, due to their longing for what is absolute, immutable, *finally* real. Religions of structure find fulfilment precisely in the norms and eternal relationships which structure all process and change in this world. The first revels in the abnormal, anomalous, and extreme states because they betoken the exceptional breakthrough into unworldly eternity; the second rejoices in the

sanctification of everyday life, and finds eternity in the midst of change.” (pp. 7-8).

Because of this “sanctification of everyday life”, religions of structure are extremely complex and difficult to interpret. The outside world and daily events are not distractions from profounder truths, but rather the vehicles through which these truths are expressed. In such religions, ritual is not a periodic occurrence limited to special sacred times and sacred places. Virtually every activity is ritualized and every thing can serve as a symbol.

In the first half of his book Zuesse seeks to reveal the religious structures which define the worlds of a number of African peoples: the Mbuti Pygmy hunters, the Lele hunter-farmers, and the Ila farmer-pastoralists. In each case he succeeds in revealing a rich world of ritual symbolism and practice. Ordinary activities such as hunting game, pounding grain, leaving a village, quarreling with one’s spouse, and blowing a whistle are shown to be endowed with transcendental meaning. The everyday character of religious life is here the product not of secularization but of total sanctification.

In the second half of the book, Zuesse turns his attention from the specific religious structures of selected societies to the description and analysis of such essential forms of cult as spirit possession, initiation, divination, millenarianism, and witchcraft. Using a phenomenological approach and examples drawn primarily (though not exclusively) from West Africa, he attempts to uncover the religious essence of phenomena all too frequently explained solely in terms of their functions or dismissed as mere “magic”. The results are always thought-provoking, if not necessarily totally convincing.

As is usually the case in phenomenological studies, the reader is dependent upon the author for both the selection and the interpretation of a multitude of sources. The reader familiar with Zuesse’s bibliography may at times be skeptical concerning the conclusions he has reached. A few examples will suffice: In the light of the work of Westcott and Morton-Williams can be the selection of a medium for one or another Yoruba demigod truly be said to be “arbitrary”?<sup>2</sup> In what sense do South African independent churches make use of explicitly *Jewish* (as distinct from Old Testament) symbolism?<sup>3</sup> Is it not misleading to refer to the immanent aspect of Spirit (*Adro*) among the Lugbara as “God”, since there also exists a transcendent aspect (*Adroa*)<sup>4</sup>.

Beyond these minor points a far more basic question must be raised concerning Zuesse’s selection of material. As Zuesse himself readily admits, most religions express both “salvational” and “structural” ideas and intentionalities. Indeed, with any given religion the emphasis accord-

ed to either type of spirituality may vary from one group to another and from one period to another. This being the case, it is somewhat surprising that Zuesse gives no consideration to the possibility of more extreme differences of orientation between African religions. The sanctification of structure is certainly one fundamental orientation of many African religions. Zuesse succeeds in demonstrating this quite well with regard to the peoples he has chosen. However, does this mean that structure is *the* fundamental orientation of all African spirituality? Would Zuesse's approach work as well for the Nuer as for the Mbuti? Would it reveal as much as Evans-Pritchard's oft criticized but still classic studies?

These criticisms notwithstanding, Zuesse's book should be read carefully by anyone interested in the meaning of ritual and in the spirituality of African religions. Although the author's penchant for new terminology is at times confusing, the reader who perseveres will find himself rewarded. Zuesse approach to African ritual is both original and challenging and deserves serious consideration.

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Steven KAPLAN

<sup>1</sup> As in E. E. Evans-Pritchard's *Nuer Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press) 1956. Zuesse is not the first scholar to take Evans-Pritchard to task for imposing Western theological ideas upon the Nuer. See, for example, the biting comments of Okot P'Bitek *African Religions in Western Scholarship* (Nairobi) 1970, pp. 41, 49.

<sup>2</sup> Joan Wescott and Peter Morton-Williams, 'The Symbolism and Ritual Context of the Yoruba *Laba Shango*', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* XCII (1962), p. 25 'Among those active in the cult, two polar types may be distinguished: one is hearty, given to noisy display and fascinated by conjuring; the other is less confidently boisterous and often temperamental'.

<sup>3</sup> p. 170, 'It is interesting that both movements, while Christian, make marked use of explicitly Jewish symbolisms and practices, referring to the Old Testament (the Jewish Scriptures) in its own rights and not as subsumed in the 'New''. Cf. also p. 221 n. 34: 'In some cases, a Jewish influence on east Africa prophetism is obvious, as in the case of the Meru, where associated with the prophetic cult are myths very similar to the Biblical account of Creation and Fall, Exodus from Egypt and even the 'seven Noahite commandments''.

<sup>4</sup> p. 214 Cf. J. Middleton, *Lugbara Religion: Ritual and Authority among an East African People* (London: Oxford University Press) 1960.

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## CHRONICLE AND CALENDAR OF EVENTS

The U.S.A. are a huge country and scholarly conferences there tend to take on “continental” proportions. The “American Academy of Religion” held its last annual meeting during 19-22 December, 1982 in New York, in conjunction with the S.B.L. (Society for Biblical Literature)—a combination which swelled the size of the conference even more and increased its variety. The number of participants was over one thousand, and perhaps closer to two thousand. The programme was divided into sections (e.g., Comparative Studies, Ethics, Philosophy of Religion), groups (e.g., Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Afro-American Religions, Currents in Contemporary Christianity, Structural Analysis), seminars (e.g., Dialectic, Eastern Christianity) and “consultations”. Whilst these subdivisions seem somewhat puzzling and their underlying criteria somewhat esoteric, there is little doubt that no area of studies ancient and modern, academically traditional or more recent (not to say faddist)—from Quranic Studies to Liberation Theology to Women-in-Religion—was neglected. Similar subdivisions (sections, groups, seminars, consultations) also marked the SBL programme.

Several dozens of publishers had stands at the conference site, exhibiting their publications which ranged from serious and solid scholarship to occultism and to fashionable “relevance”. The catalogue of the Conference alone (including programme, indices, list of participants, advertisements) is a volume of 144 pages! All this is not surprising if we take into account the fact that the U.S.A. have more theological seminaries, more university departments of religion as well as departments dealing with religion under another name (e.g., Semitic or Oriental Studies), and more teachers and students (professional and amateur) of religion as well as more publications relating to religion than any other country. Quality inevitably ranged from superb and exemplary scholarship to shoddiness and the jumping on fashionable bandwagons. Surely Marx and Engels were right when they asserted that quantity at a certain point turns into quality. The trouble with this undoubted truth, however, is that it lends itself to several interpretations, all of them equally true.

This column does not, as a rule, report on the programmes or on changes in the syllabus of university departments of “religious studies”. But occasionally exceptions have to be made, and a recent decision by the University of Pennsylvania provides such an exception.

The computer age has overtaken (and taken over) not only the natural but also the social sciences. Some practitioners of the latter seem to feel that increased similarity with the natural sciences (quantification methods, use of computers) enhances their scientific status as compared to the antediluvian character of the Humanities. It may be true that scholars in what used to be called Liberal Arts and Letters tend to be more conservative in their methods, except when it comes to making concordances or collating mss. But now the Dept. of Religion at the University of Pennsylvania has announced that it will require “computer literacy” as a condition for admission to graduate studies. Only the future will show how significant the actual scholarly progress in the history of religions directly attributable to computer literacy will prove to be. Meanwhile there can be no doubt that at a time when the job market is shrinking, not least in religious studies, graduates will be equipped with a professional skill that should help them to find “allogenic” employment.

The 31st International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa (formerly called the “International Congress of Orientalists”) will take place in Japan (Tokyo and Kyoto) 31 August-7 September, 1983. History of Religions and “Orientalism” have always overlapped to a considerable degree, as regards both religious and cultural history, as well as the languages and literatures of the religious cultures concerned (Islam and the “Islamic languages” from Arabic to Persian and Urdu; Egyptology; Accadian; Indian and Buddhist Studies; Chinese and Japanese Studies etc.). Of the 19 sections and the 2 seminars (divided into 8 sub-seminars) of the Congress, several are of eminent interest to students of religion, e.g. Section 2 (Monarchies and Socio-Religious Traditions in the Ancient Near East); Section 3 (The Spread of Buddhism and Hindu Culture in Asia); Section 4 (Confucianism and Taoism in East and Southeast Asia); Section 5 (Religious Movements in Islam); Seminar A-4 (Tun-Huang and Turfan Studies); Seminar B-1 (Kami Worship in Shinto).

For information and registration write to

31st CISHAAN Office  
c/o Tōhō Gakkai  
4-1 Nishi-Kanda 2 chome  
Chiyoda-Ku  
Tokyo 101  
Japan.

The newly founded Danish Association for the History of Religions will be inaugurating its activities with a Symposium on “Rituals in Religions and Culture”, to be held in Copenhagen on October 17-19, 1983. Although primarily a Danish (and Scandinavian) event, other scholars are invited to participate. The Address of the Danish Association is c/o Dr Armin W. Geertz, Paludan-Müllersvej 17, DK-Århus C, Denmark.

RJZW

## IN MEMORIAM: C. JOUCO BLEEKER (1898-1983)

Obituaries are usually printed at the end of our NUMEN issues. In this case no explanations are required for the exception: C. J. Bleeker's name has become synonymous with the I.A.H.R. in general and with NUMEN in particular.

Like most historians and phenomenologists of religion in the Netherlands, Bleeker studied theology and spent the first years of his career—20 years, to be exact—as a Protestant minister (of the more liberal kind) in several Dutch cities. Like other historians of religion in Holland, Bleeker chose Egyptology as one of his specialisations. His studies in Leiden and Berlin were crowned in 1929 when he received his Leiden Ph.D. under the great Kristensen. His marriage to Sigrid A. Odhner—his companion for many happy years—greatly strengthened his ties, both familial and academic, to Sweden. In fact, he used to give his guest lectures at Stockholm and Uppsala in Swedish. From 1946-1969 he taught history and phenomenology of religion at the University of Amsterdam, and subsequently, after his retirement, also at Leiden on a kind of “first aid” basis pending definitive appointments at that university.

After his retirement he seemed to be younger and more active than ever: writing, editing, travelling (preferably with his grandchildren), and always being available, with his characteristic blend of friendliness, helpfulness, wise counsel and courtesy to students, ex-students and colleagues. But without detracting from his achievements as a university teacher it can safely be said that Bleeker's heart was with and in the IAHR. He served the organisation as its Secretary-General from its foundation in 1950 until his retirement in 1970. And even after laying down this task, he continued to carry the burden of the editorship of NUMEN (and related IAHR publications such as the Bibliography and the monograph series SUPPLEMENTA) which he had shouldered *de facto* since its very inception in 1954 (first as Assistant Editor, and then, after the death of Prof. R. Pettazzoni, as Editor-in-Chief) until 1977 (see NUMEN XXIV, 1977, p. 161), when the oc-



togenarian signified his wish to lay down that burden too. It was from Jouco Bleeker that the present Editors inherited NUMEN.

A *Festschrift* in his honour, *Liber Amicorum*, was published on the occasion of his 70th birthday and contained a bibliography of his published writings. Since then Bleeker's bibliography has grown considerably—his last book appearing about a year before his death.

Many people, also outside the immediate circle of his family, will cherish his memory: former students, colleagues, acquaintances, friends and collaborators in his diverse activities, especially in the IAHR and in NUMEN. It is probably correct to say, in spite of ever so many complaints to the contrary, that there is no death of scholars, also in the field of History of Religions. But the scholar Bleeker will remain unforgettable to those who knew him, as a gentleman of rare calibre. One example, typical of the man and his character, must suffice here. As fate would have it, his life's companion was dying, after a painful illness, on the day of his official and ceremonial leavetaking as Professor at the University of Amsterdam. The day was planned as a festive occasion ('Farewell Lecture', grand reception) by the university authorities and by his students. Sigrid's imminent death plunged everybody into mourning and confusion. Knowing what his wife would have wished, and conscious of his duty towards students and colleagues, Bleeker himself cut the Gordian knot. The official university programme went through as planned, thanks to Bleeker's characteristically quiet, unpretentious and unassuming heroism, with himself alone experiencing the truth of the O.T. Book of Proverbs: "only the heart knoweth its own bitterness". The academic world may remember him for his scholarship and for his decisive role in the history of the IAHR and of NUMEN. Those who had the privilege of more intimate closeness to him might wish to remember the scholar and the man with the words of Horace's Ode

integer vitae, scelerisque purus.

RJZW

## WHY CECROPIAN MINERVA?

### *Hellenistic Religious Syncretism as System*

LUTHER H. MARTIN

Up to the end of the sixteenth century, resemblance played a constructive role in the knowledge of Western culture....it was resemblance that organized the play of symbols, made possible knowledge of things, visible and invisible, and controlled the art of representing them.

Michel Foucault\*

#### i

The identification of Isis Regina in book xi, 5 of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* with Cecropian Minerva, and with nine other Mediterranean goddesses as well, illustrates the remarkable complexity and profusion of data which the study of Hellenistic religion surveys. While scholars recognize resemblances in such data from a common text or historical period, they have been embarrassed by their inability to formulate the data into any coherent totality. As Franz Cumont analogized in his pioneering study of *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*:

Let us suppose that in modern Europe the faithful had deserted the Christian churches to worship Allah or Brahma, to follow the precepts of Confucius or Buddha, or to adopt the maxims of the Shinto; let us imagine a great confusion of all the races of the world in which Arabian mullahs, Chinese scholars, Japanese bonzes, Tibetan lamas and Hindu pundits should all be preaching fatalism and predestination, ancestor-worship and devotion to a deified sovereign, pessimism and deliverance through annihilation—a confusion in which all those priests should erect temples of exotic architecture in our cities and celebrate their disparate rites therein. Such a dream...would offer a pretty accurate picture of the religious chaos in which the ancient world was struggling before the reign of Constantine.<sup>1</sup>

In his "Introduction" to Cumont's book, Grant Showerman summarized this problem as "the apparently chaotic condition of paganism when viewed as a system."<sup>2</sup>

Cumont's initial perception of the religious situation in imperial Rome as systemic confusion yielded, however, to his apprehension of an historical order:

As the religious history of the empire is studied more closely, the triumph of the church will, in our opinion, appear more and more as the culmination of a long evolution of beliefs.<sup>3</sup>

This evolutionary perspective from “the triumph of Christianity” disallowed Cumont any possibility of a systemic understanding of paganism and prescribed, instead, his historical inquiry into the “moral antecedents” of the Christian world.<sup>4</sup> As Showerman concluded: “M. Cumont is... a contributor to our appreciation of the continuity of history.”<sup>5</sup> This view of Hellenistic religion as an historically ordered process has defined its study since the mid-nineteenth century.

ii

A discrete period of Hellenistic history was first projected by J. G. Droysen in 1836: “The name Alexander marks the end of one world epoch, the beginning of a new.”<sup>6</sup> Droysen’s romantic attribution of epochal inauguration to the heroic exploits of Alexander gave currency to the now familiar account of the newly crowned young king, who, in his passion to unite the Greek race against Persian hegemony, conquered the known world by the time of his premature death thirteen years later. According to this view, the Hellenistic period had its beginnings with Alexander’s rapid transformation of the world into his Greco-Macedonian empire.

The rise of Roman power signaled for Droysen the end of his Hellenistic period.<sup>7</sup> Later historians anointed yet another heroic figure, Caesar Augustus who finally had consolidated Roman power by his annexation of Egypt, to mark the end of the Hellenistic and the beginning of a Roman epoch.<sup>8</sup> Thus an Hellenistic period became accepted from Alexander’s death in 323 B. C. to Augustus’ triumph in 31 B. C.<sup>9</sup>

Historical periodization does not represent fact, however, but the interpretative perspective of historical generalization.<sup>10</sup> Droysen’s Hellenistic period presumes the so-called “Great Man view of history,” a generalization which claims that such men as Alexander are the key to an intelligible history.<sup>11</sup> Further, Droysen’s periodization presumes the rise of empire, a political bias, as the criterion for bracketing his Hellenistic period.

Whatever the merits of Droysen's periodization, it must be asked if it is appropriate for the perspective of the religious historian to be organized according to the principles of political history? What is the relation between a period of Hellenistic political history and its religious counterpart?

Arguably more significant for religious history than Alexander's conquests was the "Ptolemaic" cosmological revolution. This expanded cosmological image rivaled Alexander's concurrent political exploits in significance by exemplifying a widening of mental horizons.<sup>12</sup> Its new architecture of the world provided the occasion for the emergence of distinctive religious structures and confirms the beginnings of a period of Hellenistic religious history contemporary with the beginning of a period of Hellenistic political history.<sup>13</sup>

Although "Hellenistic" has become a standard term to designate a period with its beginnings in the late fourth century B. C., there is less agreement, especially among religious historians, on where to end this period.<sup>14</sup> Droysen himself was somewhat more circumspect than his followers in fixing the *terminus ad quem* to his period. While recognizing that the consolidation of Roman power prescribed a conclusion to Hellenistic political history, he recognized also that religious history must include a consideration of the dominant influence of Hellenistic culture throughout the centuries of the empire.<sup>15</sup>

This discrepancy between "Hellenistic" as a political periodization and "Hellenistic" as a religious continuity extending beyond political limit has resulted in a confusing use of this term by historians of religion. Some scholars, accepting the political periodization established by Droysen's followers, limit a study of Hellenistic religion strictly to those religious texts and practices in the period between Alexander and Augustus; others, heeding Droysen's reservations about a politically determined *terminus ad quem* for religious history, or otherwise sensing some sort of apolitical continuity, speak rather of "Greco-Roman" religions; and still others subsume "Greco-Roman" to a generalized nominalization, "Hellenistic."<sup>16</sup> Indeed, some scholars note the continuing influence of Hellenistic culture into Renaissance Europe.<sup>17</sup>

A suitable conclusion to Hellenistic religious history is well marked, as Cumont suggested, by the emergence of one of its constituent traditions to dominance in the imperial West. Theodosius' late fourth century A. D. religious legislation in favor of Christianity and outlawing paganism effectively signals this conclusion and affirms an antecedent period of Hellenistic religion enduring some 750 years from Alexander's empire to Christian catholicity.<sup>18</sup>

### iii

Historical periodization is not only a generalization based upon interpretative perspective, it is based also upon judgement about the essential characteristics of that period.<sup>19</sup> When Droysen named his newly defined period "Hellenistic," he also proposed its essential feature. He appropriated this adjective, which does not appear in ancient Greek, from the verbal and nominal forms signifying the acquisition of the Greek language and life-style by non-Greeks.<sup>20</sup> For Droysen, "Hellenistic" signified the "east-west mixture of people"<sup>21</sup> which occurred with Alexander's conquests, and which was dominated by the Greek language, and consequently, Greek life style. Droysen seemed to waver, however, between two understandings of this process of cultural mixture: *interpretatio graeca* and cultural fusion, both of which have been employed in subsequent interpretations of Hellenistic religion.

In the area of religion, *interpretatio graeca* signifies the identification of a foreign god by a Greek equivalent, a practice at least as ancient as Herodotus.<sup>22</sup> Droysen understood this interpretative reduction to have been justified politically by Alexander's own worship of foreign deities, and philosophically by Stoic pantheistic allegory.<sup>23</sup>

But for Droysen, "Hellenistic" also signified *Verschmelzung*,<sup>24</sup> a process of fusion resulting from the interaction between Greek civilization and those Oriental cultures incorporated by Alexander into his empire. It is this Hegelian notion<sup>25</sup> of the mutual influence of various cultures, and specifically of the eastern and the western, as constitutive of an "Hellenistic culture which has dominated subsequent research, especially in the history of religions. Within a decade of the more influential second edition of Droysen's work,<sup>26</sup> religious studies had produced its technical term for Droysen's

Hegelian characterization of Hellenistic religious fusion: syncretism.<sup>27</sup>

As a modern generalization about “the main characteristic feature of Hellenistic religion,”<sup>28</sup> “syncretism” betrays modern theological and historiographical concerns. The term apparently was appropriated from the “Syncretists,” a seventeenth century Protestant movement which had attempted to harmonize the diverse sects of Protestantism in the face of Roman Catholicism. Dogmatic and sectarian interests rejected these irenic overtures and thereafter this term was almost always used in a derogatory sense.<sup>29</sup>

By 1853 the term was used as a generalization about pagan culture:

Syncretism under every possible form—ethical, political, social, and theological was the favourite policy of the Roman emperors. They would have all the varieties of mankind called in and restamped at the Caesarian mint.<sup>30</sup>

In 1886, Jean Réville used *syncretisme* as the central category for his historical study of Roman religion.<sup>31</sup> Whereas Réville used this term in the service of historical description, it retained its theological overtones:

And from the middle of all these gods, of all these practices, of all these beliefs, emerges the idea that there are only, in the last analysis, diverse manifestations of the same divinity, diverse practices of the same cult, diverse conceptions of the same piety.<sup>32</sup>

Almost immediately the term began to appear with this essentialist sense in studies of religion generally. Andrew Lang, for example, used it in 1887 to describe the historical process in Egypt whereby “various god-names and god-natures are mingled so as to unite the creeds of different names and provinces.”<sup>33</sup> This “monotheistic tendency,” as it came to be called, became a common feature of syncretism as “historical” description.<sup>34</sup>

The theological assumptions of syncretism began to be challenged by the end of the nineteenth century when the predominantly German *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* placed Christianity itself in its context of Hellenistic religious history.<sup>35</sup> By 1903, Hermann Gunkel had clearly articulated a non-theological, historically formulated thesis that Christianity too was a syncretistic religion.<sup>36</sup>

Based upon its nineteenth century usage, the oft-cited but incorrect etymology given for syncretism is the Greek verb *synkerannumi*,

“to mix or join together.”<sup>37</sup> The literal Latin translation of *synkretismos* according to this etymology would be *confusio*. The acceptation implied in this etymology clearly influenced the work of such scholars as Cumont and Réville. Réville even spoke of the originality of syncretism as consisting “precisely in the confusion of its elements.”<sup>38</sup> Yet, he betrayed the significance of his historical perspective when he admitted, indeed, lamented, that this originality rested precisely upon his limits as a modern historian: “By its very nature a syncretism as complex and so confused defies complete analysis.”<sup>39</sup>

Understanding syncretism in theological terms implied, of course, a regulatory stance belonging to the theological politics of orthodoxy.<sup>40</sup> It characterized an heterodox “they”—Roman Catholicism for the seventeenth century Protestant Syncretists, paganism for Réville’s and Cumont’s Christianity—the existence and definition of which allowed for, in turn, an orthodox “we.”<sup>41</sup> But the understanding of syncretism as historical process was no less problematic.<sup>42</sup> Such an understanding assumes some ideal antecedent or future time or state which is not syncretistic, or at least which is less so, by which the nature and extent of the syncretistic mixing process can be measured. In other words, syncretism defined as a cultural mixing implies already a norm, whether theological or historical, from which this fusion is viewed.

By contrast, syncretism in the ancient world signified a pattern of relationship rather than the monotheistic or essentialist tendency implied by “mixing together.” It was derived from *synkretizo*, “to make two parties join against the third,”<sup>43</sup> and was used first, and in the ancient world exclusively, by Plutarch to describe the reconciliation of the normally factious Cretans in the face of attack by a foreign foe.<sup>44</sup> In other words, Plutarch employed the term to signify a coherent system whereby resemblance structured the relations of its constituent parts. This system organized a play of sympathy and antipathy: antipathetic foes who resembled one another, Cretans, came into sympathetic relationship with one another only in antipathetical relationship with dissimilar foes, foreigners.<sup>45</sup>

Syncretism in this Plutarchian sense suggests precisely the possibility of what Showerman and others had so disparaged, the perception of Hellenistic religious syncretism as a coherent system.

Syncretism understood as a system specific to an Hellenistic religious period contravenes Robert Baird's objection that "no real purpose is served by applying" this term to describe an historical process which is "both inevitable and universal."<sup>46</sup> Syncretism so understood might better inform a modern generalization about Hellenistic religion by offering a systemic model for understanding how divine relations came into being in the Hellenistic period.

iv

The *locus classicus* for Hellenistic religious syncretism is book xi, 5 of Apuleius's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>47</sup> Its introductory self-description by Isis—"manifested alone and under one form of all gods and goddesses...my name, my divinity is adored throughout all the world, in divers manners, in variable customs, and by many names"<sup>48</sup>—has been identified as "the syncretistic formula of union."<sup>49</sup> In commentary upon this passage, J. Gwyn Griffiths exemplifies the customary understanding for this example of syncretism by relating it to "the universalism engendered by the widening political horizons in the Hellenistic era."<sup>50</sup> This explanation presumes the relation between political event and religious reaction which has characterized the study of Hellenistic religion since Droysen.

A systemic analysis of this passage, however, would not understand this example of syncretism in terms of politico-historical cause, but in terms of religious discourse specific to Apuleius' Hellenistic novel. Like empire and cosmos, the *Metamorphoses* constitutes a finite field of inclusion. It contains a series of framed tales within framed tales, each mirroring the others; and its conclusion turns back upon the opening tale to render its meaning, and that of the entire novel, anew. In this way, the episodes in the novel are related to one another as parts of an interconnected whole.<sup>51</sup> If the concluding episode of the *Metamorphoses* exemplifies Hellenistic religious syncretism, it is not because it profoundly culminates a bizarre collection of tales with a religious moral; it is because it provides an effective religious paradigm both constitutive of and constituted by the entire novel.

In Apuleius' novel, the opening story of Aristomenes not only foreshadowed the plight of Lucius, the novel's hero, but suggests the plight of man in the Hellenistic world as a whole. Aristomenes tells Lucius of his chance meeting with a long-lost friend, Socrates, who had fallen onto bad luck and had been reduced to a pale, thin beggar. Socrates had been attacked by bandits while on a business trip to Macedonia and finally escaped to an inn only to fall under the power of a wicked sorceress, Meroe. Ultimately, however, Socrates blamed not Meroe but Fortune for his condition:

O my friend Aristomenes, now perceive I well that you are ignorant of the whirling changes, the unstable forces, and slippery inconstancy of fortune.

Met. i, 6

By the end of the story, Fortune had placed Aristomenes in the situation of Socrates at the beginning. Before long, Lucius too would know the buffetings of Fortune.

Lucius became subject not only to the buffetings of an antipathetic blind fortune, but was also the recipient of the sympathetic benefits of Isis, who came to take pity on his fortune.<sup>52</sup> This beneficent aspect of Isis was known also as *Agathe Tyche*, Good Fortune, a virtue commonly attributed to Isis.<sup>53</sup> As the priest of Isis said to Lucius at the time of his soteriological transformation:

Let fortune go...for fortune hath no puissance against them which have devoted their lives to serve and honor the majesty of our goddess...Know thou that now thou are safe, and under the protection of that fortune that is not blind but can see, who by her clear light doth lighten the other gods.

Met. xi, 15

Isis, the antithesis of blind fortune, is "that fortune that is not blind but can see." Fortune's name (Gk: *tyche*, Lt: *fortuna*) means chance or luck, both good and ill. Her ambiguity, inconstant as the moon itself,<sup>54</sup> was her most characteristic trait.<sup>55</sup>

As a cosmological deity, Fortuna personified the universal but inclusive principle of resemblance with her contagious play of sympathy/antipathy.<sup>56</sup> Considered by some the most important deity of the Hellenistic period,<sup>57</sup> Fortuna was the absolute sovereign of Lucius' world.<sup>58</sup> Personified in Apuleius' novel as Isis, she tells Lucius:

I am she that is the natural mother of all things, mistress and governess of all the elements, the initial progeny of worlds, chief of the powers divine, queen of all that are in hell, the principal of them that dwell in heaven...

Met. xi, 5

Lucius, and the other characters of the novel, are related to each other and to the goddess, both sympathetically and antipathetically, throughout. As the theriomorphic antipod of Isis,<sup>59</sup> Lucius is the emblem of the play of fortuitous antipathy; as the initiate into her cult, he is simultaneously the emblem of fortuitous sympathy. Similarly, the particular syncretistic configuration in book xi, 5 of Apuleius' novel is best understood as a sympathetic assemblage of normally discrete goddesses<sup>60</sup> representing good fortune in the face of an antipathetic relation to ill fortune.

To understand this Apuleian example of syncretism as a mixing together of rather obvious and overlapping divine attributes<sup>61</sup> "engendered by the widening political horizons in the Hellenistic era" tells us little. Why is Isis associated with just Cecropian Minerva and the nine other goddesses and not, for example, with the Syrian Goddess, Atargatis. This goddess also is one of the characters of the novel<sup>62</sup> and shares with them the Hellenistic political universe as her domain;<sup>63</sup> she shares also characteristics with other of the goddesses identified in book xi;<sup>64</sup> and she is identified with Isis in other contexts.<sup>65</sup> However, she is mocked in the *Metamorphoses*. Apparently, Atargatis is excluded from Apuleius' particular configuration of sympathetic relationships established with good fortune precisely because of her association with Lucius' ill-fortune.<sup>66</sup>

v

Why just Cecropian Minerva?<sup>67</sup> Why not Atargatis? The example from Apuleius presents indeed the crux of Hellenistic religious syncretism. In any case of cultural contact, why and how does it occur? Why is just A borrowed from one culture rather than B? and why just C from the other rather than D? A systemic analysis of the problem offers an alternative to syncretism viewed as historical process. System is used here to signify that field shared by political, cosmological, and religious structures, and which governs the conditions of their possibility.

A systemic view of Hellenistic religious syncretism understands it as an enduring finite field. This field is exemplified by the architecture of Ptolemaic cosmology which endured from about the fourth century B. C. until the Copernician revolution of Renaissance

Europe. Historical shifts both in political and religious configurations occurred within that system. Thus, the Augustan empire signaled a first century B. C. political reconfiguration within the Western succession of imperial embrace, while Theodosius signaled a fourth century A. D. reconfiguration in religious jurisdiction. An analytic of Hellenistic religious syncretism belongs to religious discourse specific to a period of religious history extending from the fourth century B. C. to the fourth century A. D.

As the example from Plutarch suggests and that from Apuleius illustrates, Hellenistic syncretism best signifies systemic relationships of resemblance construed in terms of sympathy and antipathy. These relationships were not understood in the Hellenistic period as a mixture of cultural particulars to be historically disentangled, but as patterns of relationships to be described in their particulars.

To be sure, there are instances of Hellenistic syncretism for which historical intention ostensibly accounts. For example, the well-known interpretation of the fabrication of the cult of Serapis under the direction of Ptolemy I Soter of Egypt has been understood as “a new religious concept to go with his own power.”<sup>68</sup> While conforming to Droysen’s political strategy, even this politico-historical theory for the “artificial”<sup>69</sup> creation of a syncretistic deity suggests the systemic alternative. For the cult of Serapis aspired to universal acceptance throughout the Hellenistic world. By achieving, to some degree, this aspiration, it proved more attractive than would have some eclectic hodge-podge of already accessible deities. Consequently, its vitality must have drawn upon and been governed by an effective, existing system of religious structures.

Similarly, Gnosticism, long considered the most syncretistic of Hellenistic traditions, generally has been understood in its historical relationship to Christianity as a confusing and bizarre Christian heresy, or, in terms of its largely conjectural origins. A systemic approach shows Gnostic syncretism as yet another parallel configuration of Hellenistic resemblance, a relational system of sympathetic elements organized in terms of their antipathy to a cosmic *heimarmene*.<sup>70</sup>

Showerman’s view of “the apparently chaotic condition of paganism when viewed as a system” exemplified the assumptions

of Droysen's historical definition. Actually, however, it has been the attempt to understand syncretism as an historically continuing process, based upon fragmentary and confusing historical remains, which has proved to be chaotic. When its constituent elements are viewed as related parts of a system, however, Hellenistic syncretism discloses not chaos, but a relatively clear sympathetic/antipathetic structure of resemblance.

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\* *The Order of Things*, trans. anonymous (1971; rpt. New York: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*. With an Introductory Essay by Grant Showerman, authorized trans., 2nd ed. (1911; rpt. New York: Dover Publications, 1956), pp. viif.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xif.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xii.

<sup>6</sup> J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 3 vols. (1836-43; 2nd ed., 1877; new edition by Erich Bayer, 1952-53; rpt. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch, 1980), vol. I, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 442.

<sup>8</sup> Erich Bayer, "Nachwort," in Droysen, *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 475.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (1927, 3rd ed. rev. by the author and G. T. Griffith, 1952; rpt. New York: World Publishing), ch. 1.

<sup>10</sup> E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 76; M. I. Finley, "Generalizations in Ancient History" in Louis Gottschalk, ed., *Generalization in the Writing of History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 19-35, esp. p. 23; and Gottschalk's summary of Finley's position: "that assumptions about periodization in political history may impose an unexplained or unjustified organization of the subject matter to be presented and may bring in their wake other unexamined assumptions of generalizations." *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>11</sup> Robert Stover, "Great Man Theory of History" in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (1967; rpt. ed. New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. and The Free Press, and London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1972), vol. 3, pp. 378-382.

<sup>12</sup> To paraphrase E. R. Dodds' observation in *The Greek and The Irrational* (1951; rpt. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1971), p. 237.

<sup>13</sup> The importance of Ptolemaic cosmology for understanding Hellenistic religion in the face of its complexity and seeming contradictions is emphasized by Martin P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (München: C. H. Beck, 1961), vol. II, pp. 702-11. Nilsson also cites on this point (*ibid.*, p. 702, n. 1): Robert Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelzeit: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes* (München: C. H. Beck, 1910),

p. 631; and F. C. Burkitt, *Church and Gnosis* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1932), pp. 30ff. See also Hans-Friedrich Weiss, *Untersuchung zur Kosmologie des hellenistischen und palästinischen Judentums* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1966). A helpful survey of Western cosmological theories is presented by Milton K. Munitz, ed., *Theories of the Universe from Babylonian Myth to Modern Science* (New York: The Free Press, 1957).

<sup>14</sup> Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>15</sup> Bayer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 474-5.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, the rather laborious discussion by F. C. Grant, *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism*, The Library of Liberal Arts (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1953), pp. xi-xiii.

<sup>17</sup> F. C. Grant, "Hellenismus," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1957-1965), vol. III, col. 209. See also Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, trans. Barbara Sessions (1952; rpt. New York: Harper and Row, 1961); Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968); and Frances Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (1964; rpt. New York: Random House, 1969).

<sup>18</sup> Jonathan Z. Smith adopts also this dating in "Hellenistic Religion," *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1982), vol. 8, pp. 749-61.

<sup>19</sup> Finley, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., II Macc. 4, 13 speaks of "an extreme of Hellenization and increase in the adoption of foreign ways" (RSV).

<sup>21</sup> Droysen, "Vorwort zur Zweiten Auflage," *op. cit.*, vol. I.

<sup>22</sup> Friedrich Solmsen discusses Herodotus' interpretation in *Isis Among the Greeks and Romans* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Published for Oberlin College by Harvard University Press, 1979), ch. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Droysen, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 18.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 447.

<sup>25</sup> Claire Préaux, *Le Monde Hellenistique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978), p. 7.

<sup>26</sup> Droysen, *op. cit.*, 2nd ed. 1877. M. M. Austin, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), Preface.

<sup>27</sup> Paul Wendland understood syncretism and hellenization as virtually synonymous processes in *Die Hellenistische-Römische Kulture* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) 2nd and 3rd ed., 1912, p. 129. See also James Moffatt, "Syncretism," *The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1922), vol. 12, pp. 155-57.

<sup>28</sup> F. C. Grant, *Hellenistic Religions*, *op. cit.*, p. xiii.

<sup>29</sup> Moffatt, *op. cit.*

<sup>30</sup> Anonymous, "The Octavius of Minucius Felix," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, vol. XLVII, March 1853, p. 294.

<sup>31</sup> *La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1886).

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>33</sup> *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1887), vol. II, p. 94. The term is dropped from later editions. Apart from its use to designate Hellenistic religion, syncretism has been used most frequently as a description of Eastern religions: Robert D. Baird, *Category Formation and the History of Religions* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1971), p. 148. However, the term

often is used also in anthropological descriptions of tribal societies, e.g., Bennetta Jules-Rosette, *African Apostles: Ritual and Conversion in the Church of John Maranke* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975), p. 194; and even as a characterization of contemporary American cults by Robert S. Ellwood, Jr., *Religious and Spiritual Groups in Modern America* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 29, 46. Robert Baird argues that "Syncretism is a concept applied to a religion by those who stand outside its circle of faith and hence fail to see or experience its inner unity." *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>34</sup> See already Réville, *op. cit.*, p. 116; also, for example, Hermann Usener, *Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der Religiösen Begriffsbildung*, 3rd ed. (1895; rpt. Frankfurt/Main: G. Schulte-Bulmke, Sonderausgabe für die Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, Darmstadt, 1948): "er [synkretismus] war die vorschule des glaubens an einen gott" (*sic*). p. 340; "Synkretismus," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1913): "Die neue durch den Synkretismus aufgenommene Religiosität mit ihrer schwärmerischen Innigkeit, gestattete eine völlige Hingabe an Christus, ein Sichversenken in das Einzigartige seines Wesen, das schließlich seiner Religion zum Siege verhelfen mußte." vol. V, col. 1055; W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (1934; rpt. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1966): "it [syncretism] is the natural concomitant of a tendency towards monotheism." p. 100, see also p. 250; and Martin P. Nilsson, *op. cit.*: "so hat der Drang zum Monotheismus einen allumfassenden Synkretismus hervorgerufen..." vol. II, p. 575.

<sup>35</sup> Werner Georg Kümmel, *Das Neue Testament: Geschichte der Erforschung Seiner Probleme* (Freiburg und München: Karl Alber, 1958), pp. 310ff.

<sup>36</sup> Hermann Gunkel, "The Religio-Historical Interpretation of the New Testament," trans. W. H. Carruth, *The Monist*, 1903, p. 455. Gunkel stated his overall thesis as: "the religion of the New Testament, in important, and even in some vital, points can be interpreted only in the light of the influence of extraneous religions..." p. 398.

<sup>37</sup> Stanislav Segert, "Some Remarks Concerning Syncretism," in *Religious Syncretism in Antiquity: Essays in Conversation with Geo Widengren*, ed. Birger A. Pearson (Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1975), pp. 63-66.

<sup>38</sup> Réville, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> On the theological or normative use of "syncretism" see also Robert D. Baird, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-152.

<sup>41</sup> For the anthropological basis of the "we/they" distinction, see Robert Redfield, *The Primitive World and Its Transformations* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell University Press, 1953), p. 92.

<sup>42</sup> Baird, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-146.

<sup>43</sup> Sergert, *op. cit.* Although not signified by the term *synkretismos*, a process of religious "mixing together" is described by the first century A. D. popular philosopher, Dio Chrysostom:

Indeed, some do maintain that Apollo, Helius, and Dionysus are one and the same, and this is your view, and many people even go so far as to combine all the gods and make of them one single force and power, so that it makes no difference at all whether you are honoring this one or that one.

xxxi, 11

Trans. J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1940). Chrysostom's meaning has less to do with the signification of syncretism, however, than with Stoic allegory.

- <sup>44</sup> the Cretans,...though they often quarrelled with and warred against each other, made up their differences and united when outside enemies attacked; and thus it was which they called "syncretism."

De fraterno amore, 19  
Trans. W. C. Helmbold, in *Moralia*, vol. V, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939).

<sup>45</sup> See Michel Foucault's discussion of pre-seventeenth century thought, *op. cit.*, ch. 2, esp. pp. 23-25 where he discusses resemblance as the play of sympathies; and G. E. R. Lloyd's extensive consideration of pairs of opposition as characteristic of Greek thought generally in *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1966), Pt. 1.

<sup>46</sup> Baird, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>47</sup> "Syncretism," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, eds. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 1029.

<sup>48</sup> Met. xi 5, trans. W. Adlington, rev. S. Caselee, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1915).

<sup>49</sup> J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros: The Isis-Book (Metamorphoses Book XI)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), p. 144.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> See the provocative analysis of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* by Reinhold Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (München und Berlin: C. H. Beck, 1962), pp. 1-90.

<sup>52</sup> Met. xi, 5.

<sup>53</sup> Vera Frederika Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis*, American Studies in Papyrology 12 (Toronto: A. M. Hakkert, 1972), pp. 31-32, 94-96.

<sup>54</sup> Isis/Fortuna is introduced to Lucius in lunar imagery: Met. xi, 1.

<sup>55</sup> So Pliny:

[Fortuna is] alone accused, alone impeached, alone pondered, alone applauded, alone rebuked and visited with reproaches; deemed volatile and indeed by most men blind as well, wayward, inconstant, uncertain, fickle in her favours and favouring the unworthy. To her is debited all that is spent and credited, all that is received, she alone fills both pages in the whole of mortals account...

HN II, 22

Trans. H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938; rev. 1944, 1949).

<sup>56</sup> Robert Graves, trans., *The Golden Ass* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1951), p. xii.

<sup>57</sup> Pliny, for example, writes:

Everywhere in the whole world at every hour by all men's voices Fortune alone is invoked and named...and we are so much at the mercy of chance that Chance herself, by whom God is proved uncertain, takes the place of God.

HN II, 22

<sup>58</sup> James Tatus, *Apuleius and The Golden Ass* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1979), p. 73.

<sup>59</sup> "Der Esel ist nämlich die Verkörperung alles dessen, was der Isis feindlich ist. Er ist das Tier des Seth, des Mörders des Osiris." Merkelbach, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>60</sup> A. D. Noch has argued that the Hellenistic age is marked by the distinctiveness of its religions, by individual deities, and individual initiation. "Ruler-Worship and Syncretism," 1942; rpt. in *Essays on Religion and The Ancient World*, ed. Zeph Stewart, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972), vol. II, pp. 557f.

<sup>61</sup> These shared characteristics include associations with fertility: Isis, Minerva (Athena), Venus (Aphrodite), Diana (Artemis), Ceres (Demeter), Juno, and Nemesis; with virginity: Minerva, Diana, and Proserpine; with the protection of cities: Minerva, Diana, and Juno; with wisdom: Minerva, and Isis; with lunar characteristics: Diana, Juno, Hecate, and Isis; as mother goddesses: Minerva, Ceres and Isis; with aid to women in childbirth: Diana, Juno, and Hecate; and with the underworld: Proserpine, Hecate, and Isis.

<sup>62</sup> Met. viii, 24f.

<sup>63</sup> See Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, trans. A. M. Harmon, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924), and the commentary on this text by Herbert Strong and John Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess* (London: Constable and Company, 1913).

<sup>64</sup> Especially the characteristic of fertility as a mother goddess.

<sup>65</sup> Vanderlip, *op. cit.*, p. 28 n. 18.

<sup>66</sup> The ass introduces the account of his purchase by and ritual service to Philebus, a priest of the Syrian Goddess with the observation:

my evil fortune, which was ever so cruel against me, whom I, by travel of so many countries, could in no wise escape nor appease the envy thereof by all the woes I had undergone, did more and more cast its blind and evil eyes upon me, with the intervention of new means to afflict my poor body, in giving me another master very fit for my hard fate.

Met. viii, 24

<sup>67</sup> Cecrops was the mythical first king of Athens. The adjective "Cecropian," then, is analogous to "Athenian." Thus, the title Cecropian Minerva is itself a syncretistic conflation.

<sup>68</sup> John Ferguson, *The Religions of the Roman Empire* (London and Southampton: Thames and Hudson, 1970), p. 36.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> This understanding of Gnosticism was already suggested by Wilhelm Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich, 1897), p. 13.

GNOSTIKER ZWEITEN RANGES:  
ZUR INSTITUTIONALISIERUNG GNOSTISCHER  
IDEEN ALS ANTHROPOLATRIE

HANS G. KIPPENBERG

*Die Spätlage: verändlichte Gnosis*

Die antike Gnosis hat ihre Blüte in den großen Städten des Römischen Reiches gehabt: in Antiochia, Alexandria und Rom. Hier wurde ihre klassische Form entwickelt, und mit diesen Städten sind die Namen großer gnostischer Systemdenker verbunden: Menander, Basilides, Valentinus, Herakleon. Schon zu dieser Zeit (dem 1./2. Jh. n. Chr.) gab es neben städtischen auch ländliche Gnostiker. Jedoch hören wir zu wenig von ihnen, um Besonderheiten ausmachen zu können<sup>1</sup>. Im Laufe der antiken Religionsgeschichte aber vollzog sich ein wichtiger Wandel. Die Gnosis, im Beginn ein städtisches Phänomen, wurde zu einer Erscheinung des platten Landes, der Rückzugsgebiete, des Dorfes. Die großen gnostischen Gruppen der Valentinianer, der Manichäer und später dann der Katharer haben alle diesen Wandel in der einen oder anderen Weise durchgemacht. Sie haben damit nur nachvollzogen, was für die Kultur insgesamt gegolten hat und was als Untergang der antiken Kultur bezeichnet worden ist<sup>2</sup>. Dies ist jedoch nicht allen antiken Religionen gelungen, im Gegenteil. Bei dieser Verlagerung des Schauplatzes sind viele antike Ideen zu Bruch gegangen, da sie auf dem Lande keine unterstützenden Institutionen fanden. Anders stand es mit gnostischem Denken und Handeln. Ihm gelang es, seinen Schauplatz zu verlegen: von städtischen Zirkeln zu ländlichen Gemeinschaften. Insbesondere Dorfgemeinschaften in den gebirgigen Rückzugsgebieten Vorderasiens sind zum Stützpunkt gnostisierenden Denkens geworden. Ohne diese ländliche Institutionalisierung wäre die antike Gnosis wenig mehr als eine religionshistorische Randerscheinung von Judentum und Christentum geblieben und hätte das Schicksal der antiken Stadtkultur geteilt. So aber hat sie sich bis ins Mittelalter Europas und bis in die abbasidische Zeit

Vorderasiens halten können, so sehr sie dabei auch an genuinen Zügen eingebüßt hat. Damit aber wurden in der bäuerlichen Kultur Europas und Vorderasiens Denkweisen etabliert, die beim Auftauchen von Emanzipationsinteressen in der Hochkultur auffallende Analogien bildeten<sup>3</sup>.

Obgleich diese ländliche Gnosis religionshistorisch gesehen wenig originell ist, lohnt ein eingehendes Studium. Vor kurzem hat sich E. Le Roy Ladurie, ein französischer Historiker mit Interesse an der Geschichte von Mentalitäten, mit ihr näher beschäftigt. Er hat aus den Verhören, die die dominikanische Inquisition 1318-1325 im Pyrenäendorf Montailou durchgeführt hatte und über die penibel Protokoll geführt worden war, das alltägliche Leben von damals rekonstruiert. Allerdings eröffnet sich ein ungewöhnlicher Anblick. So diente die katharische Lehre, daß Sexualität als solche vom Teufel sei, dem Anführer der katharischen Dorffraktion Pierre Clergue — zugleich noch Priester der katholischen Kirche — dazu, seine zahlreichen Liebschaften zu rechtfertigen. Es sei doch eine große Sünde, wurde ihm vorgehalten, mit einer verheirateten Frau zu schlafen. “ ‘Keineswegs’ antwortete der Priester, ‘eine Frau ist wie die andere. Die Sünde ist dieselbe, ob sie nun verheiratet ist oder nicht’ ”. Von diesem Priester wurde auch erzählt, er habe einmal sogar einer seiner Geliebten in der Kirche das Liebeslager bereitet. Daß diese sexuelle Freizügigkeit von Katharern keine Randerscheinung war, davon zeugen jene Studien, die Verbindungen von Katharern und Troubadours nachgewiesen haben<sup>4</sup>.

Doch auch die katharischen Parfaits, die unentwegt zu zweit herumziehenden Asketen, waren keineswegs durchweg vorbildliche Heilige. So hören wir von einer abenteuerlichen Karriere. Wegen Mordes mußte Guillaume Bélibaste den elterlichen Hof verlassen, ging unter die herumziehenden Hirten und wurde schließlich ein Vollkommener. Mit der gebotenen sexuellen Enthaltsamkeit nahm er es nicht so genau. Als seine heimliche Geliebte Raymonde schwanger wurde, da verheiratete er sie (Eheschließung und -scheidung lagen in den Händen der Vollkommenen) für einige Tage an den Hirten Pierre Maury, damit dieser als Vater gelten solle. Da alle Parfaits ein Recht darauf hatten, von den einfachen Gläubigen mit einer Ehrenbezeugung begrüßt und mit Almosen versehen zu werden, ließ sich Bélibaste 150 Schafe geben, die gar nicht dem

Spender, sondern dem eben genannten Pierre Maury gehörten. Dieser verweigerte daraufhin dem Vollendeten eine Zeit lang die Ehrenbezeugung.

Diese und viele ähnliche Vorgänge bestätigen die Worte von E. Le Roy Ladurie, diesem scharfsichtigen Beobachter der Szene: "Catharism was a kind of togetherness" und kam den Lebensformen des abgelegenen Hochlandes entgegen<sup>5</sup>. Das Katharertum von Montaillou war das Idiom ländlicher Gebiete geworden, nachdem es zuvor eine städtische Blüte erlebt hatte. Die Dörfer, die sich ihm zugewandt hatten, haben es umgeformt: haben aus einer städtischen Religion eine ländliche herausgefiltert. Es war dies ein aktiver Prozess von Umarbeitung, eine gezielte Auswahl aus dem Katharertum des Tieflandes. Man darf nicht übersehen, daß die bauerliche Lebenswelt mit ihren langen Wintertagen geradezu ein Brutplatz metaphysischer Spekulationen war und zu einem solchen Prozess bewußter Selektion imstande war<sup>6</sup>. Verändert wurde dabei das Consolamentum: ein Ritus, der aus einem einfachen Gläubigen einen Vollkommenen (*parfait*) machte. Diesen Ritus hatten die Katharer im Laufe der Zeit von allen asketischen Vorleistungen befreit und zu einem Sakrament gemacht. Die einfachen Gläubigen, die während ihres Lebens nicht selber *Parfaits* geworden waren, konnten durch ihn kurz vor ihrem Tode zu *Parfaits* erhoben und so aus dem Kreislauf der Seelenwanderung befreit werden. Sie erkaufte dies allerdings in der Spätzeit des Katharertums mit der fürchterlichen *endura*: einem Entzug aller Nahrung bis zum Tode. Dieses Consolamentum konnte allein von den *Parfaits* verabreicht werden. Diese Sakramentalisierung der Erlösung lief klar dem städtischen Katharertum zuwider und war das Ergebnis eines solchen ländlichen Anpassungsprozesses<sup>7</sup>.

Anders stand es mit der hohen Wertschätzung der Vollkommenen: hier hat man die städtische Tradition des Katharertums fortgesetzt. Nur ihre Worte und Handlungen waren gültig, denn nur ein apostolisches Leben in Armut konnte Erlösung sichern. "Wir Vollkommenen können jeden von seinen Sünden befreien. Unsere Vollmacht der Vergebung ist der der Apostel Petrus und Paulus gleich. Dagegen besitzt die katholische Kirche diese Vollmacht nicht, da sie eine Kupplerin und Hure ist". Diese Menschen, in deren Händen die einfachen Gläubigen ihr ewiges Seelenheil wahn-

ten, wurden wie Heilige verehrt und bedient. Diese Ehrung folgte einem Ritus, *Melioramentum* genannt. Bei R. Nelli kann man die abenteuerliche Geschichte nachlesen, wie eine katharische Dame, die ihre katholische Herrin nach Rom begleitete, heimlich in der päpstlichen Kapelle, wo beide dem Gottesdienst beiwohnten, einen als Pilger verkleideten katharischen Diakon anbetete<sup>8</sup>. Nur die Verehrung der Vollkommenen und nicht die Befolgung irgendwelcher kirchlicher Gebote war Mittel der Erlösung. Mittels dieser Verehrung der Parfaits isolierte sich das Hochland gegen die Institutionen und Mächte des Tieflandes: Papst, König, Bischof, Inquisition. Es sind dies, wie Bélibaste sagt, die vier Teufel, die über die Welt herrschen. Diese bewußte und gewollte Isolierung hatte gute und massive Gründe: die Bergbewohner wollten partout den Zehnten von Vieh und Korn nicht zahlen, die Inquisition sah ihrerseits darin Häresie.

Das Katharertum vermittelte diesen abgeschiedenen Gebieten ein Bewußtsein von Würde. Man muß hier an eine Unterscheidung von Max Weber denken, nämlich die zwischen dem Würdegefühl positiv und negativ Privilegierter. Das Würdegefühl positiv Privilegierter ruht auf dem Bewußtsein der Vollendung ihrer Lebensführung als eines Ausdrucks ihres in sich ruhenden Seins, das Würdegefühl negativ Privilegierter dagegen auf einer ihnen verbürgten Verheißung. Die katharischen Gebirgsbauern waren sich ihrer Würde bewußt und mußten sie nicht erst von der Zukunft erwarten.

Als im Jahre 1318 einmal wieder Gerüchte vom nahenden Ende der Welt die Runde machten, da hatten sie dafür nur ein müdes Lächeln über. Sie glaubten nicht an ein Weltende, an ein Endgericht, an ein zukünftiges Leben oder eine allgemeine Auferstehung der Toten. Sie glaubten dafür an die Seelenwanderung. Diese Lehre gab ihnen nicht allein Würde, sie konzipierte die menschliche Person anders als im Feudalismus üblich: sie neutralisierte die Unterschiede zwischen Mann und Frau, verneinte die Vorzüge der Geburt, verwarf kriegerisches Blutvergießen und ersetzte die Gehorsamkeit gegenüber den weltlichen Gewalten durch eine Loyalität zu den Vollkommenen<sup>9</sup>. So lagen im Katharertum Ideen bereit, mittels derer freie Bauern entlegener Gebirgszonen die Bildung einer Widerstandsfront legitimieren konnten. So wie

zwischen jenen Gebieten städtischen Umlands, die dem Renten-  
druck am stärksten ausgesetzt waren, und messianischen Umsturz-  
bewegungen eine gewisse Wahlverwandtschaft konstatiert werden  
kann, so auch zwischen gnostischem Denken und den Bauern ent-  
legener Gebirgszonen.

Es ist ein Glücksfall, so genau über das alltägliche Leben der  
Katharer von Montailou informiert zu sein. So wenig das Katha-  
rertum von Montailou religionshistorisch repräsentativ ist, so sehr  
könnte der Anpassungsprozess religionsethnologisch typisch sein.  
Man wird hier vorsichtig formulieren müssen, denn mehr als eine  
Hypothese liefert das Material von Montailou sicher nicht. Um  
eine Hypothese zu formulieren, reicht es jedoch vollkommen.

Diese These möchte ich folgendermaßen formulieren: gnostische  
Erlösungsvorstellungen sind bei den Katharern als eine persönliche  
Loyalität gegenüber den Vollkommenen institutionalisiert worden.  
Diese Vollkommenen waren eine wirkliche Heilsaristokratie, die  
den einfachen Gläubigen das Heil sakramental weiterreichte. Ein  
Hinweis auf das Zahlenverhältnis beider Gruppen ist erhellend:  
Borst rechnet für das Jahr 1200 mit ca 600 Vollkommenen bei einer  
halben Million Gläubigen, für das Jahr 1300 mit 15 Vollkommenen  
auf ca 1000 noch übrig gebliebenen Katharern. Bei aller Unsicher-  
heit solcher Zahlen ist doch eines deutlich: daß die soziale Relevanz  
von Gnosis zunahm, wenn sie in dieser Weise institutionalisiert  
wurde. Wo solche Laienethik nicht zugestanden wurde, da blieben  
die gnostischen Gruppen ohne größeren Einfluß. So schält sich als  
die Voraussetzung einer Verländlichung von Gnosis heraus: die  
Verbindung einer asketischen Ethik von Vollkommenen mit einer  
Loyalitätsethik einfacher Gläubigen<sup>10</sup>.

Diese Hypothese, daß das Handeln der Gnostiker zweiten Ran-  
ges einer eigenen Logik folgt, reizt zur Durchsicht antiker Materia-  
lien. Aus zwei Gründen. Einmal waren auch die zwei großen anti-  
ken gnostischen Gruppen, die Valentinianer und die Manichäer in  
zwei Grade unterteilt: den der Vollkommenen und den der *secundi  
ordinis discipuli*, den Jüngern zweiten Grades<sup>11</sup>. Dabei muß von  
vorneherein gesagt werden, daß beide Gruppen unterschiedliche  
Erwartungen hinsichtlich ihrer Vollkommenen hegten. Ich habe  
diese Unterschiede am Ende dieses Artikels in einer Übersicht zu-  
sammengestellt und ausgewertet. Diese Differenzen haben die Be-

ziehungen der Vollkommenen zu den einfachen Gläubigen natürlich auch inhaltlich jeweils anders bestimmt. Man muß daher das Material beider Gruppen getrennt behandeln. Ansonsten aber kann man die Hoffnung haben, daß die Texte über die Ethik dieser einfachen Gläubigen etwas aussagen. Damit bin ich beim zweiten Grund, der zur Durchsicht antiker Materialien reizt: ich meine die bisherige Forschung zum Thema. Unser Gegenstand ist bislang nur als quasi selbstverständlicher Gegensatz zwischen Norm und Wirklichkeit behandelt worden. Da wird von "Anpassung an die Umwelt" gesprochen oder von "doppelter Moral"<sup>12</sup>. Weil das asketische Ideal so hoch gespannt war, mußten Abweichungen in Kauf genommen werden. Ich halte diese These für nicht sehr wahrscheinlich.

Es gab nämlich Gnostiker, die es ablehnten, Gläubige zweiten Ranges als einen selbständigen Rang zuzulassen. Außerdem war die gnostische Ethik so motiviert, daß kein Raum für Kompromisse blieb. Ein wenig scheint mir diese These darum der frühchristlichen Ethik abgeschaut, wo angesichts des nahenden Endes so argumentiert werden konnte. Paulus zum Beispiel tat dies in 1 Kor 7, 26-29: das Ende naht, die Zeit hat sich verkürzt, wer eine Frau hat, soll sie behalten, wer keine hat, soll sich auch keine suchen. Nur wenn das nahende Ende als ein sinnliches Ereignis konzipiert wird, kann so argumentiert werden. Für Gnostiker aber war es das nicht und darum zielte ihre Askese auch auf die Vernichtung des Leibes. Hier blieb kein Raum für Kompromisse über<sup>13</sup>. Das alles legt es nahe, den Gegenstand einmal anders zu behandeln: nämlich als die Etablierung einer Laienethik, die der Ethik der Vollkommenen als ein eigenes Element hinzugefügt wurde.

Damit ist natürlich noch nicht die Institutionalisierung der antiken Gnosis insgesamt behandelt. Erst eine umfassende Aufarbeitung aller Quellen zur Institutionalisierung antiker Gnosis könnte eine Bestätigung dafür erbringen, daß diese Laienethik der Drehpunkt gnostischer Gruppen gewesen ist. Ich verfolge hier ein begrenzteres Ziel: ich untersuche, auf welche Weise Valentinianer und Manichäer die Beziehungen zwischen den Vollkommenen und einfachen Gläubigen konzipiert haben und isoliere in den religionshistorisch genuinen Formen von Gnosis — und zwar ausschließlich jenen Formen, die Gläubige zweiten Ranges zuließen — konzeptionelle Voraussetzungen für eine gnostische Laienethik.

*Entweltlichung als Quelle gnostischer Anthropolatrie*

Bei gnostischer Anthropologie wird man in erster Linie an die Verehrung denken, die die großen gnostischen Systemdenker bei ihren Anhängern gefunden haben. Verehrung genossen unter anderen Simon Magus, Menander, Elksai und dessen Töchter, Epiphanes, Mani. Jedoch ist gerade diese Anthropolatrie keine Besonderheit der antiken Gnosis, begegnen wir ihr doch auch ausserhalb gnostischer Kreise<sup>14</sup>. Darum bleibt es auch fraglich, ob die Darstellung Lukians wirklich auf gnostische Verhältnisse zu beziehen ist. Er schildert nämlich, wie Peregrinus bei den Christen Palästinas zum Gott aufsteigt. Trotz dieses Zweifels hier seine Worte:

“In kurzem brachte er es dahin, daß sie wahre Kinder waren gegen ihn, der in einer Person ihr Prophet, ihr Religionsvorstand, ihr Oberhaupt und alles selber war. Und von ihren Schriften erklärte er und kommentierte er einige, viele verfaßte er auch selber und in ihren Augen war er ein Gott, sie gebrauchten ihn als Gesetzgeber und bezeichneten ihn als ihren Vorsteher” (Peregrinus 11).

Eindeutig gnostisch ist dagegen die Schlusspassage des hermetischen Traktates Poimandres. Und hier zeigt sich denn auch das Element, das mir typisch gnostisch zu sein scheint: daß jeder, der der gnostischen Entweltlichung Folge leistet und anderen vorlebt, vergöttlicht wird. Der Erzähler dieses Traktates hatte in einer Vision den Gott Poimandres geschaut und war über das Wesen des Menschen belehrt worden.

Poimandres, Corpus Hermeticum I 15:

“Deswegen ist der Mensch im Gegensatz zu allen Lebewesen auf der Erde ein Doppelwesen, zwar sterblich durch den Körper, aber unsterblich durch den wesenhaften Menschen”.

Ursache für den Tod ist der Eros, weshalb sich der Gnostiker der Sexualität enthalten muß (I 18f). Nachdem der Erzähler dieses Geheimnis gehört hatte, schickte ihn Poimandres mit den Worten weg:

“Das ist das gute Ende derer, die Erkenntnis erhalten haben: vergöttlicht zu werden. Nun aber, was zögerst du? Willst du, der die ganze (erlösende Wahrheit) empfangen hat, kein Führer werden für die, die es wert sind, damit das menschliche Geschlecht durch dich von Gott errettet werde?” (I 26).

Anders als im Islam, in dem die Heiligenverehrung dem theologisch illegitimen Bedürfnis entsprang, den Abstand zum transzen-

denten Gott zu überbrücken, entsprang die gnostische Anthropologie ganz unmittelbar aus der Lehre vom Gott 'Menschen'. Jedem Gnostiker, der anderen die Erkenntnis mitteilt, wird daher Ähnliches erfahren, wie dem Erzähler im Poimandres:

“Die einen von ihnen machten sich lustig über mich, gingen weg und hatten sich damit dem Wege des Todes ausgeliefert; die anderen warfen sich mir zu Füßen und baten um Belehrung” (I 29)

Die Mitteilung der wahren Erkenntnis und ein exemplarisches asketisches Leben begründeten die Heiligkeit der Gnostiker in den Augen ihrer Anhänger<sup>15</sup>.

Die Rolle der sexuellen Enthaltung ist in diesem Zusammenhang zu betonen. Denn eine Reihe antignostischer Kirchenväter wie Irenaeus, Clemens Alexandrinus und Origenes haben suggeriert, die Erlösung des Gnostikers geschehe 'naturhaft' (φύσει) und könne daher mit Libertinismus gepaart sein. Doch sind dies lediglich Konsequenzen, die die Kirchenväter, nicht aber Gnostiker aus gnostischen Lehren gezogen haben. Der Libertinismus ist auch durch keine der Schriften aus der Bibliothek von Nag-Hammadi verifiziert worden. Die Gnostiker propagierten, von einigen Ausnahmen abgesehen, eine asketische Ethik. Aus der großen Anzahl von Belegen zitiere ich zwei.

Irenaeus, adv. haer. I 24,2:

“ ‘Heiraten und Zeugen ist vom Satan’, lehrt er (Saturninus aus Antiochia). Die meisten seiner Anhänger enthalten sich auch vom Genuß belebter Wesen und verfolgen viele durch geheuchelte Enthaltsamkeit (enkrateia) solcher Art”.

Testimonium Veritatis NHC IX 3,29f:

“Denn die Befleckung des Gesetzes (des Alten Testaments) ist offenbar; zum Licht aber gehört die Unbeflecktheit. Das Gesetz nun befiehlt, sich einen Mann zu nehmen, sich ein Weib zu nehmen und sich wie der Sand des Meeres zu vermehren”.

Diese Stelle ist besonders aufschlussreich, weil sie zeigt, warum Gnostiker das Alte Testament so strikt abgelehnt haben: sie haben es in seiner Funktion als Quelle einer — in ihren Augen verwerflichen — weltfreundlichen Moral verworfen. Um als Heiliger angesehen zu werden, muß der Gnostiker sich von dieser Befleckung reinigen. Der enge Zusammenhang von Heiligkeit und Außeralltäglichkeit, den Max Weber gesehen hat, kommt in dieser Argumentation besonders gut zum Tragen.

Die Gnosis, so bemerkt Plotin, "mißachtet alle Gesetze (nomoi) dieser Welt und die Tugend (arete), deren Ausbildung auf eine lange Entwicklung von Anbeginn aller Zeit zurückgeht" (Enneaden II 9,15). Auf einer demonstrativen Mißachtung der alltäglichen weltlichen Moral beruht die Heiligkeit des gnostischen Asketen<sup>16</sup>. Dabei ist ein gewisses äußerliches theatralisches Element nicht zu übersehen. Schon der Bericht des Irenaeus über Saturninus zeigt, wie sehr die enkrateia als solche auf Ansehen rechnen konnte. Noch mehr kommt dies in einer Passage des Clemens Alexandrinus zum Ausdruck. Die Basilidianer, so schreibt er, würden das Wort Jesu von den Verschnittenen (Mt 19, 12) folgendermaßen auslegen:

"Einige haben eine natürliche Abneigung gegen die Frau von Geburt an. Dieser natürlichen Anlage folgend tun sie gut daran, nicht zu heiraten. Dies sind, wie sie sagen, die von Geburt Verschnittenen. Jene, die es aus Zwang sind, das sind die Theater-Asketen (θεατρικοί ἀσκηταί). Sie beherrschen sich, weil sie Gefallen am Ansehen finden... Sie nun werden Verschnittene aus Zwang und nicht aus Vernunft" (Stromata III 1,1).

Aus dieser Deutung der geheimnisvollen Eunuchenstelle geht hervor, daß man mit Enthaltung Ansehen gewinnen konnte. Es gab in den antiken Städten offensichtlich Beifall für die demonstrative und exemplarische Abkehr von den welterhaltenden Alltagsnormen. Auch die kirchlichen Asketen haben davon profitiert. Sie erhoben den Anspruch, schon in dieser Welt die vita evangelica der zukünftigen Welt zu leben (Lk 20,35f) — eine Auffassung dieser Stelle übrigens, der Clemens Alexandrinus nicht beipflichtete.

Über die Differenzen zwischen kirchlichen und gnostischen Asketen ist viel geschrieben worden. Eines fällt sofort auf: in kirchlichen Kreisen galt die Enthaltung als eine freiwillige zusätzliche Leistung (opus supererogatorium), gnostischen Gruppen war sie für die Erlösung zwingend notwendig. Die kirchliche Position findet sich in dieser Klarheit zum ersten Mal im Hirt des Hermas ausgesprochen (Sim V 3,3; Mand IV 4,2). Es ist sicher kein Zufall, daß in eben dieser Schrift der Märtyrer klar dem Propheten bzw dem Asketen vorgezogen wird (Vis III 1,8f-2,2). Hier hatte sich ein Umschwung vollzogen, wenn man etwa Apk 14,3f daneben hält, den die Gnostiker nicht mittrugen<sup>17</sup>.

Es tut sich an dieser Stelle eine Differenz auf, die eine eminente soziale Relevanz hatte. Kirchliche Christen des 2. und 3. Jh. n.

Chr. lehnten entschieden den Genuß von Fleisch heidnisch geopferter Tiere ab, kündigten damit für das Alltagsleben der antiken Stadt wichtige Mahlgemeinschaften mit andersgläubigen Mitbürgern auf und nahmen Vorwürfe wie *odium humani generis* in Kauf. Obwohl auch der gnostische Asket sich den elementaren Normen der antiken Bürgergemeinde versagte, beteiligte er sich nicht an diesem frontalen Angriff gegen sie. Valentinianer aßen das Fleisch heidnischer Opfertiere (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I 6,3) und Gleiches wird von den Anhängern des Basilides berichtet (I 24,5). Basilides stand der kirchlichen Auffassung vom Martyrium überhaupt skeptisch gegenüber und versuchte das Leiden dieser Unschuldigen aus ihren Sünden zu erklären (Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* IV 81,2). Auch Herakleon, Schüler Valentins, wehrte sich dagegen, daß viele nur das Bekenntnis mit dem Munde vor den Behörden (ἐξουσία) als ein echtes gelten ließen. Wichtiger war ihm das Bekenntnis des Glaubens und des Handelns (πίστις und πολιτεία). Wenn nötig und 'logisch' (zum Begriff *logos* gleich), dann konnte ihm auch ein Bekenntnis vor den Behörden folgen (Fragment 50). Lehrreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang auch die Notiz des Eusebius, "daß es (den Basilidianern) nichts ausmache, vom Opferfleisch zu kosten und leichtsinnig dem Glauben in Zeiten der Verfolgung abzuschwören" (*Historia ecclesiae* IV 7,7). Man kann in diese Thematik auch noch die gnostische Ablehnung eines Leidens Christi einbringen, denn sie ist nur die theologische Verlängerung dieser Ablehnung des Martyriums. Es kann kein Zweifel daran bestehen, daß die Gnostiker — Marcion nicht mitgerechnet — ein öffentliches Bekenntnis vor den Behörden in Verfolungszeiten nicht für notwendig erachtet haben (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* IV 33,9; Tertullian, *Scorpiace adversus Gnosticos* 1)<sup>18</sup>. Aus gnostischem Blickwinkel betrachtet muß auch uns auffallen, wie wichtig das kirchliche Christentum die vorgefundene, konstituierte Öffentlichkeit genommen hat.

Das haben Gnostiker nicht getan. Sie räumten der konstituierten Öffentlichkeit keine Rolle, weder im positiven noch im negativen Sinne, bei der Erwerbung religiöser Würde ein. Gnostische Heiligkeit wurde durch den Bruch mit der natürlichen Ordnung erworben, nicht aber durch den Bruch mit der politischen Ordnung der Bürgergemeinde, wie dies beim Märtyrer der Fall war. Es sind dies

vorläufige Ideen zum gnostischen Verständnis von Heiligkeit. Wir haben sie angestellt, weil die Mechanismen, mittels derer die einfachen Gläubigen am Heil partizipieren, hiervon nicht unabhängig sind. Der Gnostiker erlangte seine Autorität nicht durch ein Amt, das ihm gegeben wurde, sondern durch eine persönliche Leistung — eine Leistung, die die alltäglichen Zwänge der Welt aufbrach.

*‘Der Geist führt die Seele zum Erlöser’: das valentinianische Modell*

Einen gleichen Widerspruch, wie man ihn im kirchlichen Christentum beobachten kann, muß man hinsichtlich der Gnosis konstatieren. Das antike Christentum hatte seine Botschaft vom baldigen Ende der Welt nicht in eine Flucht aus der Zivilisation umgesetzt, sondern sich gerade umgekehrt missionarisch in diese Zivilisation hineinbegeben. Ganz ähnlich haben auch Gnostiker sich nicht mit einer radikalen Befreiung aus den Zwängen dieses Kosmos begnügt, sondern ihre Botschaft mit großem Einsatz an jene gerichtet, die diesen Zwängen nach wie vor ausgesetzt waren. Geradezu klassisch hat der Gnostiker Herakleon, einer der Schüler Valentins, diese Wendung des schon erlösten Gnostikers zurück zur Welt begründet. Er tat dies in einer Auslegung der Begegnung von Jesus mit der Samaritanerin am Jakobsbrunnen (Joh 4,5-30). Die Frau hatte ihren Wasserkrug beim Herren stehen lassen, um in die Stadt zurückzugehen und den Bewohnern von ihrer Begegnung zu berichten. Daraufhin machten diese sich aus der Stadt auf (4,28-30). Herakleon macht daraus eine Allegorie des Pneumatikers. Dieser läßt den Krug, das heißt: die Vorstellung (ἐννοια) von der Kraft des Erlösers zurück.

‘Er kehrte in die Welt zurück, um der Berufung die gute Botschaft von dem Kommen (παρουσία) Christi zu bringen. Denn durch den Geist (πνεῦμα) und von dem Geist wird die Seele (ψυχή) zum Erlöser geführt... Und das Wort ‘sie gingen aus der Stadt heraus’ hat er (Herakleon) erklärt als ‘aus ihrem früheren Wandel, der weltlich war’ ’ (Fragment 27).

Das entscheidende Argument liegt in der Terminologie beschlossen. Die Vorstellung, die Seele werde durch den Geist zum Erlöser geführt (ebenso in Fragment 39 ausgesprochen; auch im Bericht des Hippolyt über Basilides Refutatio VII 25,2 anzutreffen), operiert mit einem kosmologischen Schema mittelplatonischer Provenienz. In diesem Schema prägt die Weltseele die Ideen des

transzendenten Gottes der Materie ein: war in diesem Sinne ein zugleich schöpfendes wie erkennendes Prinzip. Die Seele erst gibt den transzendenten Ideen Form. Herakleon hat diese Philosophie vor Augen. So wie die Ideen zum Zwecke ihrer Verwirklichung auf die Seele angewiesen sind, so sind auch die Vollkommenen zur Verwirklichung ihrer Existenz auf jene angewiesen, die noch in der Welt sind<sup>19</sup>.

Eine solche Zweckbestimmung des obersten transzendenten Prinzips wird auch in anderen Berichten über valentinianische Systeme vorausgesetzt.

“Das Pneumatische aber sei ausgesandt, damit es hier mit dem Psychischen verbunden (συνυγόν) Gestalt gewinne und im Wandel mit diesem zusammen erzogen werde. Es sei das Salz und das Licht der Welt. Denn es bedurfte der psychischen und sinnlichen Erziehungsmittel” (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I 6,1 vgl. 7,5).

Nicht das Psychische, das Pneumatische muß erzogen werden! Der Same muß vollkommen werden (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I 7,1), er muß gestaltet werden (μορφοῦσθαι) (*Excerpta ex Theodoto* 79; Logion 56 des Philippus-Evangeliums). Und dies geschieht durch die gemeinsame Lebensführung mit den Psychikern. Das Psychische, von dem hier in mittelplatonischer Begrifflichkeit gesprochen wird, hat sowohl anthropologische wie soziale Bedeutungen. Die anthropologische Bedeutung kommt sehr klar in der Allegorie der Herberge zum Ausdruck. Bereits von Valentinus selber gebraucht (Fragment 2) findet sie sich ausführlich in dem Bericht des Hippolyt über die Valentinianer:

“Dieser materielle Mensch ist nach ihnen gleichsam eine Herberge oder eine Wohnung entweder der Seele allein oder der Seele mit Dämonen oder aber der Seele mit Logoi, welche Logoi von oben von der gemeinsamen Frucht des Pleromas und der Sophia in diese Welt herabgesät worden sind und in einem irdischen Leibe wohnen, wenn keine Dämonen mit der Seele zusammen wohnen” (*Refutatio* VI 34,6).

Diese Allegorie zeigt sehr schön, daß die Valentinianer nicht der Auffassung gewesen waren, die Erlösung geschehe auf eine naturhafte Weise. Bereits Langerbeck hat zeigen können, daß der φύσις-Begriff der Valentinianer in platonischer Kontinuität zu lesen ist. Die φύσις von Hyle, Psyche und Pneuma sind keine naturhaften, unveränderlichen Substanzen. Wenn auch deutlich deskriptive Elemente in den Begriff eingeflossen sind: die normativen Elemente

sind nicht aufgegeben. Der psychische Mensch, der im Körper wohnt, ist der Veränderung fähig, indem seine Seele sich die Materie oder aber das Pneuma zur Norm macht und sich ihnen angleicht<sup>20</sup>. „Wenn sie sich nun den Oberen gleich macht, der Achtheit, dann ist sie unsterblich geworden und in die Achtheit gekommen..., wenn sie sich aber der Materie gleich macht (beide Male ἰξομοιοῦσθαι), das heißt den materiellen Leidenschaften (πάθη), dann ist sie vergänglich und geht zugrunde“ (Hippolyt, *Refutatio* VI 32,9).

Diese kosmologische Auffassung der Beziehung von Psyche zu Pneuma und Hyle ist jedoch nicht anthropologisch eingengt worden. Wäre sie dies, dann müßte das innere Verhältnis in einem jeden Menschen darüber entscheiden, ob er Hyliker, Psychiker oder Pneumatiker ist. Die Valentinianer aber haben offensichtlich die Möglichkeit eingeräumt, daß Psychiker sich der Leitung von Pneumatikern anvertrauen. Damit wird jene Beziehung, die in der Allegorie der Herberge eine innere anthropologische ist, zu einer äußeren sozialen. „Sie nehmen drei Arten von Menschen an, die pneumatische, die choische, die psychische wie Kain, Abel und Seth“ (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I 7,5; ebenso I 6,1; *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 54,1). Daß die Begriffe Pneumatiker und Psychiker zwei Gruppen in den valentinianischen Gemeinden bezeichnen, zeigt sich in ihrer Ethik, in ihrer Auffassung von Gemeinde und in der Erlösungslehre. Das mittelplatonische Schema wird in allen diesen Fällen gebraucht, um eine Gruppe von einfachen Gemeindemitgliedern zuzulassen (es geht hier um sympathisierende Kirchenchristen), sie andererseits aber unter den Leitungsanspruch einer anderen Gruppe Vollkommener zu stellen.

Diese Pneumatiker mußten im Alltag Enthaltensamkeit praktizieren. Zwar erweckt Irenaeus einen anderen Eindruck und unterstellt ihnen Libertinismus (*Adversus haereses* I 6,3f). Jedoch ist in diesem Falle auf Epiphanius mehr Verlaß:

„Jeder aber, der in der Welt ist (jeder Pneumatiker also) und eine Frau nicht so liebte, daß er über sie herrschte, ist nicht aus der Wahrheit und wird nicht zur Wahrheit gelangen“ (*Panarion* XXXI 21,9).

Es ist deshalb auf diese Darstellung Verlaß, weil andere antike Autoren bestätigen, daß die Valentinianer das Institut der geistlichen Ehe (das Syneisaktentum) kannten und schätzten<sup>21</sup>. Andere

Anforderungen wurden an den Psychiker gestellt. 'Enthaltsamkeit' (ἐγκράτεια) und 'gutes Tun' (πραΐς) fordert der Bericht des Irenaeus (*Adversus haereses* I 6,4). Was damit gemeint ist, das gibt der Brief des Ptolemaeus an Flora zu erkennen: die zehn Gebote, von dem Demiurg und nicht von dem vollkommenen Gott erlassen, bleiben für den Psychiker in Geltung (Epiphanius, *Panarion* XXXIII 5,3 und 7,3f). Für den Psychiker galt ein anderes Gesetz als für den Pneumatiker: er mußte den zehn Geboten des Weltenschöpfers entsprechend handeln, der Pneumatiker dagegen der Entweltlichung des vollkommenen Gottes entsprechend leben.

Einen ganz vorzüglichen Einblick in die inneren Beziehungen einer valentinianischen Gemeinde und deren Spannungen gibt eine Schrift der Bibliothek von Nag-Hammadi, auf die K. Koschorke den Blick gelenkt hat. In der Gemeinde, an die der Briefschreiber sich wendet, gab es prophetisch Begabte, die die minder virtuellen Brüder als 'unwissend', ja als 'Fremde' abtaten (NHC XI 1,16f). Ihnen wirft der Autor vor: "Wie (willst) du wissen, daß einer der Brüder unwissend ist? Du (selber) nämlich bist unwissend, wenn du sie haßt und ihnen mißgünstig bist" (17,25-28). Offenbar hatte ein gewisse Verachtung der minder begabten Brüder die Pneumatiker ergriffen. Doch auch das Umgekehrte galt: ein gewisser Neid bei den 'kleinen Brüdern' wird auch getadelt. "Einer macht Fortschritte im Logos. Nimm nicht Anstoß daran. Sage nicht: 'Warum redet dieser, ich aber rede nicht?' Was dieser sagt, es ist (auch) dein eigen. Der, der den Logos versteht, und der, der redet — ein (und dieselbe Kraft) ist es (die in beiden wirksam ist)" (NHC XI 16,31-38).

Daß die Valentinianer der Rede geradezu soteriologische Bedeutung beimessen, wissen wir auch aus der Darstellung von Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* III 15,2. Dort wird geschildert, wie Valentinianer sich an einfache Kirchenchristen heranmachten und ihnen das Geheimnis des Pleromas zu erklären versuchten. Begriff jemand ihre Rede nicht, dann rechneten sie ihn zu den Psychikern, "die den Samen von oben von ihrer Mutter nicht haben". Es handelt sich in diesem Falle um Psychiker, die nicht vom Pneuma geführt werden. Wer aber mit dieser Rede einverstanden ist, ohne daß er selber Pneumatiker wird, kann doch am Geistbesitz teilhaben. Dabei wird die Gemeinde wie ein einziger großer Mensch konzipiert.

“Klage nicht dein Haupt (Christus ist gemeint) an, daß es dich nicht zum Auge gemacht hat, sondern zum Finger, und beneide nicht den, der in den Stand eines Auges oder einer Hand oder eines Fußes versetzt wurde, sondern sei dankbar, daß du nicht außerhalb des Leibes existierst” (NHC XI 18, 24-34). Hier wird auf die Leib-Christi Vorstellung des Apostels Paulus zurückgegriffen. Während Paulus aber Wert darauf gelegt hatte, daß alle Glieder des Leibes gleich wichtig seien (Röm 12,4; 1 Kor 12,24f), betont der Autor dieser Schrift die Unterschiede zwischen den Gliedern<sup>22</sup>. In der Allegorie der Herberge gesprochen: nicht mehr der individuelle Körper, sondern die Gemeinde insgesamt ist einer Herberge zu vergleichen. Die Seelen in ihr können mit Dämonen, sie können aber auch mit den Logoi zusammenwohnen. Folgen die einfachen Gemeindeglieder den Pneumatikern, dann können sie der Rettung gewiss sein.

Auch die Erlösung ist unterschiedlich für Pneumatiker und Psychiker. Die Seele selber ist sterblich, sie kann aber gerettet werden (Herakleon, Fragment 40). Während das Pneuma an sich unsterblich ist, müssen die Seelen eine Unsterblichkeit erst erwerben. Dies aber liegt in ihrer eigenen Entscheidung. “Das Pneumatische also ist von Natur gerettet; das Psychische, da es den freien Willen hat, hat eine Hinneigung zum Glauben und zur Unvergänglichkeit, aber auch zum Unglauben und zum Untergang, nach eigener Wahl; das Materielle geht von Natur zugrunde” (Excerpta ex Theodoto 56,3). Diese Unsterblichkeit der Seele ist nicht allein den Seelen der Pneumatiker vorbehalten. Auch die einfachen Psychiker können sie erwerben. So wird in den Excerpta ex Theodoto überaus klar ausgeführt, daß die Pneumatiker mit ihren Seelen als Kleidern erst unterhalb des Pleromas in der sogenannten Ogdoas ruhen, bis sie bei der Vollendung in das darüber liegende, für die Seelen nicht mehr zugängliche, Pleroma eingehen, nachdem sie zuvor ihre Seelen abgelegt haben. Die gläubigen Seelen aber — die Seelen der einfachen Psychiker also, die sich von den Pneumatikern haben leiten lassen — ruhen erst noch unterhalb der Ogdoas beim Demiurgen. Bei der Vollendung gehen sie dann ebenfalls in die Ogdoas ein und feiern mit den Seelen der Pneumatiker ein Hochzeitsmahl (Excerpta ex Theodoto 63f; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I 7,1.5)<sup>23</sup>. Auch die einfachen Gläubigen erlangen also die Unsterblichkeit, jedoch später als die Seelen der Pneumatiker.

Die These, Gnostiker seien Institutionalisierungen abhold gewesen, wird von dem valentinianischen Material nicht bestätigt. Vielmehr haben die Valentinianer ihre Lehre ganz bewußt breitenwirksam angelegt. "Darum sind die Materiellen viele, nicht viele die Psychiker, selten aber die Pneumatiker" (Excerpta ex Theodoto 56,2). Das mittelplatonische Schema von Pneuma bzw Logos und Psyche hat zwischen den Vollgnostikern und ihren Sympathisanten eine Gemeinschaft möglich gemacht. Auch die einfachen Anhänger konnten gerettet werden, wenn sie den zehn Geboten entsprechend handelten und wenn sie sich — und dies war das Entscheidende — von den Pneumatikern leiten ließen. Diese Pneumatiker mußten zweierlei sein, wenn sie zu solcher Rettungsaktion imstande sein wollten: Asketen und Visionäre. "So reden sie über die Schöpfung, jeder von ihnen erzeugt täglich, so gut er kann, etwas Neues: keiner ist nämlich vollkommen, der nicht bei ihnen große Täuschungen hervorgebracht hat" (Irenaeus, Adversus haereses I 18,1). Und Berichte über Valentinus und Markos führen aus, sie hätten ihre Lehren aus Visionen entwickelt (Valentin, Fragment 7 und 8; Irenaeus, Adversus haereses I 14,1). Die visionäre Fähigkeit war unabdingbar für den valentinianischen Pneumatiker. Sie berechtigte ihn zur Leitung der Seelen. Diese Institutionalisierung der Gnosis hatte wichtige Anstöße von der mittelplatonischen Philosophie bezogen. Umgekehrt hat die valentinianische Gnosis damit griechischen Ideen eine institutionelle Stütze sein können, sie dem Untergang der antiken Kultur entziehen und den späteren Kulturen zuleiten können. In einer griffigen Formulierung von Odo Marquard: die Gnosis ist entpolitisierte Platonismus<sup>24</sup>.

*"Die gegenseitige Unterstützung der zwei Grade": das manichäische Modell.*

Ich möchte im Hinblick auf den Manichäismus auf gleiche Weise verfahren wie hinsichtlich der Valentinianer. Ich werde auch den Manichäismus wie eine Einheit behandeln, obwohl er das nicht gewesen war. Er erstreckte sich über das gewaltige Gebiet von Nordafrika bis China und er existierte vom 3. bis zum 13. Jh. Dementsprechend vielfältig war diese Weltreligion gewesen. Ich möchte jedoch diese Unterschiede an dieser Stelle vernachlässigen und ebenso wie eben bei den Valentinianern aus den Quellen idealtypisch

pisch die Beziehungen zwischen den Vollkommenen (den electi) und den einfachen Gläubigen (den auditores) erarbeiten<sup>25</sup>.

Unter den großartigen manichäischen Kunstwerken, die Anfang des Jahrhunderts in Zentralasien gefunden worden sind und jetzt im Museum für Indische Kunst in Berlin-Dahlem liegen, zeigen einige, wie auditores vor einer weiblichen und einer männlichen Heiligengestalt auf den Knien liegen und sie anbeten. Nichts kann die zentrale Stellung, die diese Erwählten im religiösen Denken der Manichäer einnahmen, schöner illustrieren als diese Bilder. Sie bildeten mit ihrer Person die Kirche, und nur durch sie zählten auch die anderen dazu. "Le Catéchumène n'appartient à l'Église de la Lumière qu'en raison de ses rapports avec le Parfait" (H.-C. Puech)<sup>26</sup>.

Die weißgekleideten Elekten waren Asketen, nicht aber zugleich auch Propheten, wie dies bei den Valentinianern der Fall gewesen war. Kephalaion 102 erörtert lang und breit, warum das so sein muß, wobei allerdings eine andere Form von Prophetie vorausgesetzt wird: "Warum verweilt (der Licht-Nus) nicht als Vorherwiser bei ihnen?" Darauf legt der Apostel Mani die Gründe dar, warum den electi diese Gabe vorenthalten worden ist. Es werden rein rationale Gründe vorgetragen, als ob unter Beweis gestellt werden soll, daß der Glaube nicht der Ratio vorangehe, sondern erst in Diskussionen begründet werden müsse, wie es Augustinus als manichäische Auffassung beschrieben hatte. Als Vorherwiser (prognostes) wären sie nämlich selber Apostel und würden sich nicht vor den Gefährten demütigen. Auch würden sie sich voreinander ekeln, wenn sie ihr Herz kennten. Da sie wegen des Fleisches, das sie tragen, böse Gedanken gegeneinander hegen, würden sie einander feind werden. Wenn sie ihre Lebensdauer kennen würden, würden sie nicht eine Menge von Jahren in der Gerechtigkeit zubringen. Und schließlich würden sie daraus einen Gelderwerb machen. "Deshalb gibt er den electi keine Offenbarung, weil er sie ihnen wegen dieser fünf Dinge nicht gibt". "Die electi (widmen sich) ihren ἐντολαί, die Katechumenen ihren Almosen" heißt es in den Manichäischen Homilien 30,24f<sup>27</sup>.

Es war das oberste Gebot der electi, festgelegten Geboten entsprechend zu leben. Und voran standen die asketischen Forderungen. Das zeigt sehr deutlich ein Gespräch, das ein Missionar

Manis an der Grenze von Khorasan mit dem Geist dieser Grenze geführt haben soll. "Jener Geist sprach: 'Was für eine Religion bringst du?' Ich sprach: 'Fleisch und Wein verzehren wir nicht. Von (Frauen) halten wir uns fern'. Er sprach: 'In meinem Reiche gibt es viele wie dich'. Da rezitierte ich vor ihm aus dem Schatz des Lebens 'das Sammeln der Tore'. Da erwies er mir Verehrung und sprach: 'Du bist der reine Gerechte. Von jetzt ab nenne ich dich nicht mehr 'Religionsbesitzer', sondern 'wahrer Religionsbringer'" (M 2). Erst als der Missionar etwas von Mani vortrug, wurde dem Geist der Unterschied zum buddhistischen Mönchtum deutlich. Für den Missionar aber war die Askese das erste, woran er dachte, als er nach der Religion gefragt wurde.

Augustinus, der ja zehn Jahre lang auditor der Manichäer gewesen war, spricht in *de moribus Manichaeorum* von den drei *signacula oris, manuum et sinus* (X 19). In *Kephalaion* 80 werden diese drei Siegel wie folgt beschrieben: "Er soll Enthaltbarkeit und Reinheit sich zu eigen machen, und sich auch die Ruhe (der) Hände erwerben, um seine Hand ruhig zu halten vor dem Kreuz des Lichtes. Das Dritte ist die Reinheit des Mundes: Er soll seinen Mund von allem Fleisch und Blut reinigen und überhaupt nicht kosten, was heißt Wein und Rauschgetränk". Das Verbot von Arbeit ist in dieser Reihe asketischer Forderungen das eigentlich Beachtliche. Zu ihm trat dann noch eine wahre Heimatlosigkeit des *electus*: er zog, zumeist in Begleitung eines Gefährten oder eines Dieners, von Ort zu Ort, Stadt zu Stadt. Beides machte den *electus* von der Hilfe anderer abhängig.

Die *electi* stellten in dieser Weise ihre Heiligkeit unter Beweis. Sehr treffend nennt das nordafrikanische Manuskript von Tebessa die *electi* 'peregrini et alienigenae mundo': die Fremden und Ausländer dieser Welt. Es ist daher verständlich, daß sie sogar als Götter im Fleisch galten. In einem Lehrvortrag zur Frage, ob denn ein Katechumenen einen *electus*, der zornig ist, tadeln darf, heißt es:

"Dies ist die Art der *electi*. Götter sind sie, indem sie nach dem Abbild der Götter dastehn. Die Gottheit, die sich in ihnen niedergelassen hat, ist ihnen aus der Höhe (herab) gekommen (und) hat in ihnen Wohnung genommen... Sie stehen in einem Körper, der nicht der ihre ist, indem sie das Fleisch der Sünde hassen, das auch in einem fremden Land wohnt. Deshalb werden sie auch zornig".

Die electi bildeten mittels ihrer Verachtung des Körpers das Verhältnis des Göttlichen zum Materiellen ab. Für den Fall einer Übertretung — die Augustinus geradezu zum Normalfall machen wollte (de moribus Manichaeorum XIX 68) — ging diese Göttlichkeit verloren. Auch Sündenvergebungen gehörten daher zum Leben der electi dazu und das diesbezügliche Ritual ist uns sogar erhalten<sup>28</sup>.

Diese Götter im Fleisch mußten von den auditores verehrt werden. Der uigurische Beichtspiegel für auditores hielt es für Sünde, die durch die electi vergeben werden mußte, den electi nicht zu glauben, ihnen zu widersprechen oder Hindernisse in den Weg zu legen (X<sup>u</sup>āstvānīft IV B und XIII A). Diese Pflichten der auditores hat die manichäische Kirche auf verschiedene Weise festgelegt. Neben einem Dekalog, der allgemeine moralische Prinzipien formulierte, gab es speziellere Pflichten der auditores gegenüber ihren electi. In dem bereits zitierten Kephalaion 80 werden drei Werke der Katechumenen aufgezählt. Das erste Werk ist das Fasten an bestimmten Tagen sowie das Beten "zu Sonne und Mond, den großen Leuchten" und schließlich das Almosen an die electi. Die grundlegende Bedeutung der Almosen für die manichäische Kirche folgte aus dem Charakter der Askese, der die electi folgten. "Die heilige Kirche hat keine Ruhestätte in dieser ganzen Welt außer durch die Katechumenen", heißt es Kephalaion 87. Das Widersprüchliche hieran war, daß von den auditores Handlungen verlangt wurden, die als Verletzung des Lichtreiches den electi streng verboten waren. Das Zubereiten des Brotes, das sie den electi darbrachten, wie überhaupt der Ackerbau insgesamt, galt als Mord<sup>29</sup>. Die Acta Archelai haben daraus eine wahre Unschuldkomödie gemacht:

"Wenn sie Brot essen wollen, beten sie zuerst, wobei sie zum Brot sprechen: 'Weder habe ich dich geerntet noch habe ich dich gequält noch dich in den Topf geworfen, sondern ein anderer hat dies getan und dich mir gebracht; ich habe dich schuldlos gegessen'. Wenn er dies bei sich sagt, spricht er zu dem Katechumenen: 'Ich habe für dich gebetet' und so geht jener von dannen".

Die Manichäer haben sogar eine regelrechte Theorie entwickelt, daß die electi durch die Aufnahme lichthaltiger Lebensmittel das Licht aus dem Materiellen herausläutern und auf diese Weise dem Reich der Finsternis entziehen. Demgemäß nahm das Mahl der electi sakramentale Züge an (Augustinus, de haeresibus 46,4).

Als zweites gutes Werk eines Katechumenen neben Fasten, Beten, Almosen nennt Kephalaion 80:

“Der Mensch soll einen Sohn der Kirche zur Gerechtigkeit geben oder seinen Verwandten oder den Hausgenossen oder er soll einen, der sich in Bedrängnis befindet, retten oder einen Sklaven kaufen und ihn zur Gerechtigkeit geben, damit an allem Guten, das der tut, den er gegeben hat als Geschenk zur Gerechtigkeit, jener Katechumen,... mit ihnen Anteil hat”.

Diese Menschen wurden, falls sie nicht selber electi wurden, den wandernden electi als Diener mit auf den Weg gegeben. In diesem Zusammenhang ist die Geschichte interessant, die Augustinus in de moribus Manichaeorum XVI 52 aus Rom zu erzählen weiß. Dort sei einem Manichäer vorgeworfen worden, er habe ihm untergegebene (sub disciplina) Kinder mit Gewalt gezwungen, die Reste sakramentaler Mahlzeiten aufzuessen und diese seien daran gestorben. Auch hier scheint es so, als hätten Familienväter ihre potestas über Kinder an electi übertragen. Die bestehenden Abhängigkeiten wurden in die Beziehungen zwischen electi und auditores eingebaut. Auditores konnten sich so religiöse Verdienste ihrer Abhängigen aneignen.

Als drittes Werk schließlich wünscht Kephalaion 80 vom Katechumenen den Bau eines Wohnorts, der den herumreisenden electi als Herberge und Seminar zugleich dienen konnte.

Im Jahre 1920 veröffentlichte P. Alfarc ein in Latein geschriebenes manichäisches Manuskript, das in Tebessa in Nordafrika gefunden worden war. Es ist deshalb so interessant, weil es sich prinzipiell mit der Beziehung zwischen den electi und den auditores befasst. Die Begriffe und Bilder, die dabei gebraucht werden, entstammen weitgehend dem Neuen Testament. Der nordafrikanische Manichäismus war ja aufs engste mit den christlichen Gemeinden verbunden. Das Manuskript empfiehlt den Reichen, “die auch selber die secundi ordinis discipuli genannt werden”, sich Freunde zu machen (mit dem ungerechten Mammon Lk 16,9). Und es fährt dann fort:

“Diese beiden Grade, die auf einem Glauben in derselben Kirche begründet sind, unterstützen sich gegenseitig und jeder gibt dem anderen ab (communikat), wovon er reichlich hat: die electi den auditores von ihrem himmlischen Schatz ... und die auditores den electi”.

Es wird hier ein Austauschverhältnis zwischen den beiden Graden hergestellt: durch ihren Dienst an den electi werden die auditores

mit einem Anteil am Heil entgolten. "Was ihr den dynwr'n getan habt, habt ihr mir getan" wird ihnen am Tage des Gerichtes gesagt werden. So können die Katechumenen mit ihren Werken über Stufen, Steigen und Treppen zum Guten emporsteigen. In der Regel werden diese Werke bei einer erneuten Verkörperung seiner Seele berücksichtigt. Doch kann ausnahmsweise ein Katechumen auch einmal in einem Körper d.h. ohne Wiederverkörperung gerettet werden (Kephalaion 91)<sup>30</sup>.

Ich möchte einen kurzen Blick noch auf den iranischen Manichäismus werfen. Auch er rechnet mit einem solchen Austauschverhältnis. Die Einbeziehung dieses Materials ist noch aus anderem Grunde lohnend. Im mittelpersischen Dēnkard Buch III findet sich ein Dokument, das auf die Differenz zwischen zoroastrischer und manichäischer Ethik ausführlich eingeht. Es handelt sich um eine aus sāsānidischer Zeit stammende zoroastrische Polemik gegen die Manichäer. Der zuletzt von P. J. de Menasce edierte und übersetzte mittelpersische Text ist eine Kritik an den ethischen Lehren Manis, die vorgetragen wird von Aturpāt ī Mahraspandān, der zur Zeit Schapurs II. (309-379 n. Chr.) gelebt hat. In strenger Parallele werden die ethischen Postulate beider Seiten dargestellt<sup>31</sup>.

#### ATURPAT

1. kēn (= Hass, Rachsucht) nicht in Gedanken haben;
2. sich nicht einen Vorrat aus Habgier bilden;
3. den Gast gut aufnehmen;
4. eine Frau aus der eigenen Familie nehmen;
5. das gerechte Recht auf dem Wege von Klage und Verteidigung organisieren;
6. Klein- und Großvieh nicht unvorschriftsmäßig schlachten;
7. die materielle Welt (gētīg) nicht als Prinzip verstehen

#### MANI

kēn und die anderen druz haben den menschlichen Leib zur Zuflucht;  
 Mani untersagte den Ackerbau, sodaß dieser Vorrat verschwindet — aber er befahl, habgierig die Seelen der auditores zu horten;  
 Mani riet ab, überhaupt ein Haus zu bauen, in dem man den Gast gut aufnehmen kann;  
 eine Frau auch außerhalb der eigenen Familie zu nehmen, ist Sünde für die Erwählten;  
 Gerichtsverfahren, Recht und Richter sollen aus der Welt verschwinden;  
 man soll den Ackerbau unterdrücken und das Vieh wie das Menschengeschlecht verschwinden lassen;  
 der Ursprung (der materiellen Dinge) war die Haut von Kunda Druz, die ein Prinzip war;

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 8. die Dinge des gētīg den Göttern (Yazdān) überlassen;                                    | die Dinge des gētīg zu wollen, ist eine Sünde, und wer sie begeht, ist ein Sünder;       |
| 9. die Dinge des mēnōg (die spirituellen Dinge) selbst wollen;                             | die gute mēnōg geriet in unordentliches Geschwätz, aus dem ihr keine Rettung kommt;      |
| 10. die druz aus dem Leib vertreiben;  | der Leib des Menschen ist die druz;  |
| 11. die Götter im Leib zu Gast haben;  | die Götter sind nicht Gäste im Leib, sondern sind im Leib gefangen;                      |
| 12. die Welt vollkommen machen, indem man jeden Ort und jedes Individuum vollkommen macht. | man kann die Welt nicht vollkommen machen, sondern sie wird durch Feuer zerstört werden. |

In dem Text Manis werden ethische Vorschriften für electi formuliert, die wir aus den besprochenen Texten schon kennen: ein Verbot des Ackerbaus, des Hausbaus, der Ehe. Auch die manichäische Gemeinde im Sāsānidenreich teilte sich in zwei Grade: in die electi, die diesen Vorschriften entsprechend leben mußten, und in die auditores, die entsprechend einer Dekalog-Ethik ihr Leben führten und den electi zu Diensten waren. Die auditores konnten nur dann gerettet werden, wenn sie die Freunde der Erwählten wurden und sie so lieb hatten, als ob es "ihre Verwandten" wären (T III D 278 II). Der Grund, warum die Einbeziehung dieses Materials lohnend ist, besteht in Punkt 5: Die eschatologische Beseitigung von Gerichtsverfahren, Recht und Richtern. Hier wird die Verwerfung der natürlichen Ordnung ergänzt um die der staatlichen Ordnung. Außeralltäglichkeit heißt hier mehr als nur Bruch mit den natürlichen Gesetzen dieser Welt. Sie heißt auch: Bruch mit den staatlichen Gesetzen. Diese feine iranische Nuance ist deshalb zu beachten, weil genau diese Vorstellung von Außeralltäglichkeit später in den anti-islamischen Bewegungen des Iran wiederkehren sollte.

Die typische Vergesellschaftungsform der Manichäer war die kleine Zelle von auditores, die den electi diente und die sonntags zur Verlesung von Schriften zusammenkam (conventicula). Die einfachen Gläubigen waren gehalten, untereinander eine Brüderethik zu pflegen. "Der Hörer soll den Hörer so lieb haben, wie man seinen Bruder und Familienangehörigen lieb hat. Denn sie sind ja Kinder der lebendigen Familie und der Lichtwelt" (T II D 126). Diese auditores mußten über einen gewissen materiellen Wohlstand verfügen, um die electi aufnehmen und unterstützen zu können. Im Beginn hatten vor allem städtische Händler den Manichäismus verbreitet.

Doch zu der Zeit, als Augustinus sich mit ihm auseinandersetzte, hatte sich das Blatt schon gewendet. Er zog sich von den großen Städten, in denen Beamte und Bischöfe immer mehr auf der Hut waren, in kleine Provinzstädtchen und entlegene Dörfer zurück, wie P. Brown beobachtet hatte. Auch die Ablehnung des Ackerbaus hinderte ihn nicht daran, galt sie doch nur für die electi. Wenn Augustinus die manichäischen auditores beschreibt, dann setzt er dieses ländliche Milieu bereits voraus. "Eure auditores, die mit ihren Frauen, Kindern, Familien, Häusern und Äckern euch dienen", notiert er Contra Faustum V 10; "sie bearbeiten das Land, leihen gegen Zins und haben Ehefrauen", schreibt er in Epistula 236,2. Wir befinden uns hier schon mitten in jenem Prozess, von dem wir ausgegangen waren<sup>32</sup>.

### *Zwei unterschiedliche Formen der Institutionalisierung*

Die Durchsicht antiker Materialien hat bestätigt, daß das Handeln der Gnostiker zweiten Ranges nicht eine von den Umständen erzwungene Abweichung von der reinen Norm war, sondern einer eigenen Logik folgte. Ich schließe diesen Artikel mit der angekündigten Übersicht über die unterschiedlichen Anforderungen, die an die Vollkommenen gestellt wurden. Valentinianer und Manichäer waren sich einig, daß ihre Vollkommenen sich von Besitz und Sexualität zu enthalten hatten. Daneben aber gab es Forderungen, die unterschiedlich waren. Nicht anders stand es mit den Forderungen, denen die Gläubigen genügen mußten. Einig waren sich beide Gruppen in einer Dekalog-Ethik. Im Hinblick auf die Loyalität gegenüber den Vollkommenen legten sie unterschiedliche Akzente. Hier das Schema:

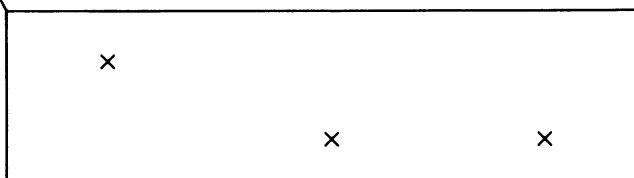
Die einfachen Gläubigen erhalten Anteil am Heil mittels:

Die Vollkommenen erwerben ihre Heiligkeit mittels:

prophetischer Gabe — Heimatlosigkeit — Verzicht auf Arbeit

Valentinianer: Anerkennung transmundanen Wissens

Manichäer: Dienste bei der Rettung des Lichts



Man kann zwei grundverschiedene Logiken erkennen. Die valentinianischen Vollkommenen galten vor allem als prophetisch begabt. Demgemäß wurde von den einfachen Gläubigen eine Anerkennung transmundanen Wissens verlangt. Ohne die Existenz von visionär Begabten konnte der Valentinianismus nicht bestehen. Zweifellos legte dies seiner Mission Beschränkungen auf. Anders der Manichäismus. Der manichäische *electus* benötigte keine prophetische Gabe. Er mußte neben den gewöhnlichen Entsagungen auch eines festen Wohnortes entbehren sowie jegliche Arbeit unterlassen dh die sogenannte Ruhe der Hände praktizieren. Demgemäß wurde es den einfachen Gläubigen zur Pflicht gemacht, ihn aufzunehmen und zu nähren. Solche Praxis war sicher leichter multiplizierbar als die der Valentinianer.

Max Weber hatte einen Zusammenhang von Heiligkeit und Außeralltäglichkeit postuliert. Der Fall der gnostischen Vollkommenen gibt ihm Recht, erwarb doch dieser Vollkommene sein religiöses Ansehen durch die demonstrative Aufhebung alltäglicher Zwänge. Allerdings haben in beiden Systemen die Beziehungen des Außeralltäglichen zum Alltäglichen anderen Charakter. Im Valentinianismus war diese Beziehung kompensatorisch von Art: sie sollte das anthropologische Defizit der Unwissenheit, aus der die Welt entstanden war (Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I 2,3), kompensieren. Die manichäische Außeralltäglichkeit kompensierte nicht. Sie war als Sammlung und Reinigung der in der Materie gefangenen göttlichen Substanz angelegt. Die manichäische Mission sollte die Erleuchteten wieder aus der Materie herausziehen, wie es im Buch der Giganten heißt: Sie sollten einen ursprünglichen Zustand restituieren. Man wird diese Differenz noch einmal näher untersuchen müssen. Ebenso müßte das Thema der gnostischen Redeformen aus dem Gesichtspunkt der *secundi ordinis discipuli* neu studiert werden.

Meine Schlußfolgerung: Die antike Gnosis stellte jenen Gebieten, die zu einer Unterwerfung unter eine bürokratische Zentrale nicht bereit waren und dazu auch nicht gezwungen werden konnten, ein höchst einfaches und äußerst effektives Konzept religiöser Würde zur Verfügung. Es erlaubte den Bauern und Hirten von Rückzugsgebieten, gegenüber den Unterwerfungsversuchen der Zentralinstanz eine Widerstandsfront zu formieren und sich intern

in einer die Dörfer übergreifenden Sozialform zu organisieren. Dieses Schema sollte die Geschichte Vorderasiens noch nachhaltig beeinflussen.

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Dieser Artikel wurde auf einer Tagung "Gnosis und Politik", die Prof. Dr. J. Taubes (Berlin) angeregt und zu der die Werner-Reimers-Stiftung in Bad Homburg im Herbst 1982 eingeladen hatte, vorgetragen.

<sup>1</sup> Simonianismus, Täufergruppen, Sethianismus, Mandäer, Judenchristen, Elkesaiten müßten unter diesem Gesichtspunkt untersucht werden.

<sup>2</sup> K. Koschorke, Patristische Materialien zur Spätgeschichte der Valentinianischen Gnosis. In: M. Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and Gnosticism*. Leiden 1981 S. 120-139; P. Brown, The Diffusion of Manichaeism in the Roman Empire. In: *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine*. London 1972 S. 94-118; C. Violante, Hérésies urbaines et hérésies rurales en Italie du XI<sup>ème</sup> au XIII<sup>ème</sup> siècles. In: J. Le Goff (ed.), *Hérésies et sociétés dans l'Europe pré-industrielle 11<sup>e</sup>-18<sup>e</sup> siècles*. Paris/Den Haag 1968 S. 171-197; K. E. Müller, *Kulturhistorische Studien zur Genese pseudo-islamischer Sektengruppen in Vorderasien*. Wiesbaden 1967; zum Begriff des Unterganges der antiken Kultur verweise ich auf Max Weber, Die sozialen Gründe des Untergangs der antiken Kultur. In: *Soziologie — Weltgeschichtliche Analysen — Politik*. Stuttgart 1968 S. 1-26.

<sup>3</sup> Ich melde einen Widerspruch gegen H. A. Green an, der von einem "failure of the Gnostics to institutionalize" spricht (Suggested Sociological Themes in the Study of Gnosticism. In: *Vig Chr* 31 <1977> S. 169-180). Beobachtungen hinsichtlich solcher Analogien finden sich nicht nur bei dem gleich zu behandelnden E. Le Roy Ladurie, sondern auch bei C. Ginzburg, von dem ich die Formulierung habe (*Der Käse und die Würmer*. Die Welt eines Müllers um 1600. Frankfurt 1979 S. 172).

<sup>4</sup> Ich zitiere aus der englischen Übersetzung: Montaillou. *The Promised Land of Error*. New York 1979 (franz. Erstausgabe Paris 1975) S. 157 und S. 164. Diese Freizügigkeit hat nichts mit dem Vorwurf der Orgien zu tun, der auch den Katharern gemacht wurde und der ein antihäretischer Stereotyp ist (N. Cohn, *Europe's Inner Demons*. Paladin 1976 S. 55). Allerdings haben die Inquisitoren solche Aussagen gerne gebraucht, um so etwas zu behaupten. Auch in diesem Falle schließt sich der Satz an, der wohl eher auf das Konto der Befrager geht: "Was soviel heißt wie, daß es überhaupt keine Sünde gibt". Bei der Heranziehung solcher Dokumente zwecks Rekonstruktion der Volkskultur ist genau darauf zu achten, inwieweit sich die Antworten dem inquisitorischen Schema nicht fügen (P. Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*. New York 1978 S. 78). Auf die Verbindungen mit den Troubadours geht A. Borst näher ein: *Die Katharer*. Stuttgart 1953 S. 107f.

<sup>5</sup> Le Roy Ladurie aaO S. 70f; 95; 97-102; 266 und 283.

<sup>6</sup> Diese Betonung des kreativen Momentes von Volkskultur habe ich unabhängig voneinander gefunden bei C. Ginzburg (s. Anm. 3) S. 7-21; bei K. Jettmar, *Die Religionen des Hindukusch*. Stuttgart 1975 S. 178-180; bei V. Ivanow, *The Truth-Worshippers of Kurdistan*. Leiden 1953 S. XI f.

<sup>7</sup> A. Borst (s. Anm. 4) S. 193-197.

<sup>8</sup> Le Roy Ladurie aaO S. 297 und 309f. R. Nelli, *La vie quotidienne des Cathars du Languedoc au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris 1969 S. 68.

<sup>9</sup> Le Roy Ladurie aaO S. 13; 21f; 319; 344f; R. Nelli aaO S. 18ff; M. Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. Köln/Berlin 1964 S. 384f.

<sup>10</sup> A. Borst (s. Anm. 4) S. 205/208. Hierzu und überhaupt zu dem Buch von Le Roy Ladurie: Y. Kuiper, Katharisme in Occitanie. In: D. Papoušek (Hg.), *Montaillou in Groningen*. Verslag van een interdisciplinaire studiedag. Groningen 1981 S. 151-172 S. 160.

<sup>11</sup> Dieser Terminus stammt aus P. Alfarc, Un manuscrit manichéen. In: *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* N.S. 6 (1920) 62-98 auf S. 66.

<sup>12</sup> H.-C. Puech, *Le Manichéisme: son fondateur, sa doctrine*. Paris 1949 S. 88f ('double morale'); K. Rudolph, *Die Gnosis*. 2. A. Leipzig 1980 spricht auf S. 233 von besagter Anpassung. An anderer Stelle spricht Rudolph von " 'Zweipoligkeit' der Gemeindestruktur" (S. 225), was mir sachgerechter zu sein scheint. Vergleicht man Rudolphs Ausführungen auf den Seiten 225, 232-4, 280 dann ist ein Schwanken zu beobachten, ob nun die Unvollkommenen mit zur gnostischen Gemeinde zu rechnen sind oder nicht.

<sup>13</sup> P. Nagel, *Die Motivierung der Askese und der Ursprung des Mönchtums*. Berlin 1966 erarbeitet die Differenzen zwischen kirchlicher und gnostischer Motivierung von Askese.

<sup>14</sup> Apg. 8,10; Justin, I. Apologie 26, 1-3; Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I 23, 1-4 (Simon Magus); Irenaeus, *Adversus haereses* I 23,5 (Menander); Epiphanius, *Panarion* XIX 2,10 (Elksai als 'verborgene Macht'); Epiphanius aaO XIX 2,12 und LIII 1,5f (Verehrung der Töchter von Elksai); zu Mani siehe M 566 bei A. Böhlig, *Die Gnosis*. Band 3. Der Manichäismus. Zürich und München 1980 S. 91. Eine Abgrenzung zur theios aner-Vorstellung ist schwer möglich. Zu dieser siehe den Artikel 'Gottmensch' I/II von W. Schottroff und H. D. Betz in *RAC* Band 12 (Lieferung 89 und 90, 1981 und 1982) Sp. 155-312.

<sup>15</sup> Zur gnostischen Konzeption dieses inneren unsterblichen Menschen stütze ich mich auf H.-M. Schenke, *Der Gott 'Mensch' in der Gnosis*. Berlin 1962, auf K. Rudolph (s. Anm. 12) S. 101f und 111 sowie auf den wichtigen Artikel von C. Colpe 'Gnosis' II in *RAC* Band 11 1981 Sp. 537-659, den man als die letzte (wir zählen 1983) Monographie zum Thema bezeichnen muß.

<sup>16</sup> L. Schottroff, *Anima naturaliter salvanda*. In: W. Eltester (Hg.), *Christentum und Gnosis*. Berlin 1969 S. 65-97 präsentiert und kritisiert das patristische Material; daß es sich um Konsequenzen der Gegner handelt, hat K. Koschorke dargestellt (*Die Polemik der Gnostiker gegen das kirchliche Christentum*. Leiden 1978 S. 123f.). Eine gleiche Argumentation entwickelt F. Wisse, Die Sextus-Sprüche und das Problem der gnostischen Ethik. In: A. Böhlig-F. Wisse, *Zum Hellenismus in den Schriften von Nag Hammadi*. Wiesbaden 1975 S. 55-86. Das Argument mit Nag-Hammadi ist nicht so stark wie man denkt. Es könnten Enkratiten gewesen sein, die die Bibliothek zusammengestellt haben. Schließlich gab es sicher auch libertinistische Gruppen (K. Rudolph <s. Anm. 12> S. 256ff). Daß Gnostiker und die von Nag-Hammadi besonders der Kirche eine fehlende Absage an die Welt vorwarfen, das zeigt K. Koschorke aaO auf den S. 110-127. Den Zusammenhang von Heiligkeit mit Außeraltäglichkeit bei Max Weber hat C. Seyfarth dargelegt: Alltag und Charisma bei Max Weber. In: R. Grathoff-W. M. Sprondel (Hg.), *Alfred Schütz und die Idee des Alltags in den Sozialwissenschaften*. Stuttgart 1979 S. 155-177.

<sup>17</sup> Differenzen und Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen kirchlicher und gnostischer Askese haben P. Nagel (Anm. 13) und K. Koschorke (Anm. 16) dargelegt. Nagel geht S. 72 auf die Bevorzugung des Märtyrers ein.

<sup>18</sup> Weiteres Material hierzu bringt W. H. C. Frend, *The Gnostic Sects and the Roman Empire*. In: *JEH* 5 (1954) S. 25-37; derselbe, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*. A Study of a Conflict from the Maccabees to Donatus. Oxford 1965 S. 244-247 und 353ff; die gnostische Ablehnung von Martyrium und ihr Zusammenhang mit der Christologie wird von E. Pagels, *Versuchung durch Erkenntnis*. Die gnostischen Evangelien. Frankfurt 1981 S. 120-156 erörtert. Mir scheint neben der Christologie noch eine zweite Idee mitzuspielen. Daß unter Marcioniten sehr wohl Märtyrer waren (zB Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiae* V 16,21 und VII 12), hat mit ihrer Auffassung zu tun, daß die Offenbarung in bestimmten Texten des Neuen Testaments festgelegt worden ist, während andere Gnostiker an eine fortwährende Offenbarung in Visionen glaubten und daher eine apostolische Autorität nicht anerkannten (E. Pagels, *Visions, Appearances, and Apostolic Authority: Gnostic and Orthodox Traditions*. In: *Gnosis*. Festschrift für Hans Jonas. Göttingen 1978 S. 415-430). Damit aber war jedes Bekenntnis unadäquat. Die Verleugnung des Glaubens haben auch die Elkesaiten geübt, wofür es zwei Quellen gibt (Epiphanius, *Panarion* XIX 1,8f und Eusebius, *Historia ecclesiae* VI 38). Dieses Prinzip sollte später im schiitischen Islam eine große Bedeutung erlangen (als *ketmān/taqiya*).

<sup>19</sup> Neuere Literatur zum Valentinianismus in B. Layton (ed.), *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*. Volume I. The School of Valentinus. Leiden 1980. Ich behandle im folgenden die Valentinianer wie eine Einheit, obwohl sie dies nicht waren. Man könnte sagen, daß hier ein Idealtypus aufgestellt wird, dem die einzelnen Systeme nie voll entsprachen. Zum Mittelplatonismus ist nach wie vor das Buch von H. J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Platonismus zwischen Platon und Plotin. Amsterdam 1964 S. 223-264 (Die Gnosis) vorzüglich. Der Band von C. Zintzen (Hg.), *Der Mittelplatonismus*. Darmstadt 1981 ist zur Gnosis merkwürdig unergiebig. Die Quellen zum Valentinianismus sind zugänglich in W. Völker, *Quellen zur Geschichte der christlichen Gnosis*. Tübingen 1932; W. Foerster, *Die Gnosis*. Band 1. Zeugnisse der Kirchenväter. Zürich/München 2.A. 1979; J. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. Leiden 1977.

<sup>20</sup> H. Langerbeck, Die Anthropologie der alexandrinischen Gnosis. In: *Aufsätze zur Gnosis*. Göttingen 1967 S. 38-82; den Vorwurf der Kirchenväter einer natürlichen Erlösung demontiert L. Schottroff, *Anima naturaliter salvanda*. In W. Eltester (Hg.), *Christentum und Gnosis*. Berlin 1969 S. 65-97; zur Menschenklassenlehre Herakleons: B. Aland, *Erwählungstheologie und Menschenklassenlehre*. In: M. Krause (ed.), *Gnosis and Gnosticism*. Leiden 1977 S. 148-181; zur gnostischen und manichäischen Anthropologie auch P. Nagel, *Anatomie des Menschen in gnostischer und manichäischer Sicht*. In: derselbe (Hg.), *Studien zum Menschenbild in Gnosis und Manichäismus*. Halle 1979 S. 67-94.

<sup>21</sup> Ich folge in dieser Beurteilung der beiden genannten Texte der Argumentation von A. Vööbus, *History of Ascetism in the Syrian Orient*. I. The Origin of Ascetism. Louvain 1958 S. 54-61 auf S. 57. Bestätigt wird das valentinianische Synesisaktentum durch Tertullianus, *Adversus Valentinianos* 30,3; vgl. Johannes Chrysostomos, *De virginitate* 3.

<sup>22</sup> K. Koschorke, Eine neugefundene gnostische Gemeindeordnung. In *ZThK* 76 (1979) S. 30-60.

<sup>23</sup> Die Annahme von E. Pagels, es würden am Ende die Pneumatiker und die Psychiker einander gleich gemacht werden (*Conflicting Versions of Valentinian Eschatology: Irenaeus' Treatise vs. the Excerpta from Theodotus*. In: *HTbR* 67 <1974> S. 35-53) ist nicht haltbar. Das hat überzeugend R. Bergmeier, "Königslosigkeit" als nachvalentinisches Heilsprädikat. In: *NT* 24 (1982) S. 316-339

nachgewiesen. Es wird dies auch durch NHC II 5 124, 33-125, 11 und 127, 10-14 voll bestätigt.

<sup>24</sup> Hans Jonas, *Die mythologische Gnosis*. 3. A. Göttingen 1964 S. 251; die Bemerkung O. Marquards mündlich.

<sup>25</sup> Die Quellen zum Manichäismus sind zugänglich in A. Böhlig (Anm. 14); A. Adam, *Texte zum Manichäismus*. Berlin 1954; C. Schmidt (Hg.), *Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*. Band 1. Kephalaia. Erste Hälfte bearbeitet von H. J. Polotsky und A. Böhlig. Stuttgart 1940; besonders zu nennen D. N. Mac Kenzie, Mani's Šabuhraḡan. In: *BSOAS* 42 (1979) S. 500-534 und 43 (1980) S. 288-310. Zur Terminologie: neben ἐκλεκτός und electus werden für den Vollkommenen die Begriffe zaddiqā im Syrischen (Gerechter), im Mittelpersischen (dynwr) (Religionsbesitzer bzw. -bringer), wcydg'n (Erwählte, Plural), 'rd'w (Gerechter) verwendet; für den einfachen Gläubigen sind dies neben κατηχούμενος und auditor im Mittelpersischen nywšg'n (Hörer, Plural) und hy'r (Helfer).

<sup>26</sup> Das Zitat von H.-C. Puech (Anm. 12) S. 193 Anm. 391; zur Ikonographie H.-J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy*. Iconography of Religions. Section XX. Leiden 1982 insbesondere Abbildungen 41a und 42; ein sehenswerter Katalog erschien anlässlich der Ausstellung dieses Fundes 1982 in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 'Along the Ancient Silk Routes'.

<sup>27</sup> Augustin schreibt: fidem nobis ante rationem imperari dicerent, se autem nullum premere ad fidem, nisi prius discussa et enodata veritate. Ich habe den Text aus P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions de Saint Augustin*. Paris 1950 S. 64f Anm. 3. Den manichäischen Lehrvortrag und seine Diskursform hat A. Böhlig dargestellt: Probleme des manichäischen Lehrvortrages. In: G. Widengren (Hg.), *Der Manichäismus*. Stuttgart 1977 S. 294-313; das Homilienzitat aus H. J. Polotsky, Artikel Manichäismus in *RE*, abgedruckt in dem genannten Band von Widengren S. 133.

<sup>28</sup> Zu den Jahren, die Augustinus Manichäer war, siehe L. C. Ferrari, Augustine's "nine years" as a Manichee. In: *Augustiana*. Tijdschrift voor de Studie van Sint Augustinus 25 (1975) S. 210-216; das Manuskript von Tebessa bei Adam (Anm. 25) Nr. 16 Zeile 7f; das Sündenvergebungsritual hat W. Henning herausgegeben: *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. Berlin 1937.

<sup>29</sup> Die arabischen Texte zum Dekalog von aš-Šahrastānī und an-Nadīm finden sich in Übersetzung bei A. Böhlig (Anm. 21) S. 155 und 190. Das Verhältnis beider Quellen, die voneinander abweichen, hat C. Colpe näher bestimmt: Die Formulierung der Ethik in arabischen Manichäer-Gemeinden. In: *Ex orbe religionum*. Festschrift G. Widengren. Leiden 1972 S. 401-412; weitere Quellen zur Vorstellung, das Zubereiten von Brot sei Mord, sind Ausführungen von Augustinus (Adam <Anm. 25> Nr. 48 und 49,4); auch der Text der Acta Archelai steht bei Adam Nr. 38).

<sup>30</sup> Zum christlichen Charakter des nordafrikanischen Manichäismus: W. H. C. Frend, The Gnostic-Manichaean Tradition in Roman North Africa. In: *JEH* 4 (1953) S. 13-26; F. Décret, *L'Afrique manichéenne (IV<sup>e</sup>-V<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. 2 Bände Paris 1978; zum Tebessa Manuskript P. Alfarc (Anm. 11) und A. Adam (Anm. 25) Nr. 16; das eschatologische Gerichtswort stammt aus dem Šabuhraḡan Manis (Mac Kenzie <Anm. 25> 1979 S. 508f Z.95), ein ähnliches in Kephalaion 77.

<sup>31</sup> P. J. de Menasce, *Škand-Gumanik Vičar*. Fribourg 1945 S. 227-233; derselbe, *Le Troisième Livre du Denkart*. Traduit du Pehlevi. Paris 1973 S. 209f.

<sup>32</sup> Die beiden Texte T III D 278 II und T II D 126 bei M. Boyce, *A Reader in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Leiden/Tehran 1975 S. 55-57; außer P. Brown (Anm. 2) hat F. Décret (Anm. 30) Vol. 1 S. 203-208 das soziologisch relevante Material behandelt. Die beiden Texte Augustins finden sich in Vol. 2 S. 155 Anm. 237 abgedruckt.

## TWO WOMEN VISIONARIES AND DEATH

*Catherine of Siena and Julian of Norwich*

RENÉE NEU WATKINS

### *Purposes*

Catherine of Siena (circa 1340-1380) and Julian of Norwich (1342-circa 1420) are two women among the great religious writers of the middle ages. Writing was rare among saints, rarer among women saints, and rarest among saintly lay women. Catherine and Julian are the first lay women to succeed in transmitting to posterity their ideas on spiritual matters. They left us, not merely sayings and visions quoted, more or less accurately, by biographers, but continuous texts of their own creation.<sup>1</sup> This paper is concerned with the ways being female affected their work.

The feminine role, first of all, was a source of ethical and poetic conceptions. Both Catherine and Julian sought, for instance, to fulfill towards the world a role of mourning and consolation which was traditionally feminine and which they saw modelled in the Virgin Mary. They also described an ideal of motherhood, derived from their own knowledge of women but embodied in Jesus as mother of humanity, and this ideal influenced their own conscious relation to mankind. Secondly, it is important to consider that women were excluded from higher education and were barred, not only from the priesthood, but from preaching and teaching in any form. The only way for them to circumvent these barriers to spiritual leadership was to be visionaries and ascetics.<sup>2</sup> They had to be vehicles of superhuman powers, not mere women. This societal demand for visions and asceticism affected, of course, not only these women's way of life and spoken words, but also their thought and writing. Thirdly,—in the face of women's supposed incompetence to serve as spiritual leaders—we find in both these women evidence of a desire not to appear feminine, or even female. Empowered to write only by their claim to visions and high emotional states, they developed as writers compensatory intellectual

strengths, and in fact presented their ideas with more rational argument, more step by step explanation, and more theological caution, than the male philosophers of mysticism who influenced them.

In dealing with a central problem of religion, finally, which is suffering, and a central problem of their time, which was fear of death and Hell, these women had as women, paradoxically, a special kind of emotional authority. They had spent their lives in the prescribed humility and service to society of women (domestic work, nursing, nurturing, caring for the ill, comforting the dying,); and they brought to their writing practical experience both of suffering in the every day world and of effective religious responses.

What they preached was not peculiar to women but was in large part simply Christian asceticism: they taught a desire for suffering that was not a matter of choosing wretchedness as such, or of training oneself to indifference, but of transforming suffering into joy. In relation to death in particular, they expressed hope, not only of entering transcendent light or bliss, but of a transformation of pain and death into bliss, of suffering into joyful union. By a deeply felt analogy to the birth process that did probably arise from their female experience of the body and of the important events in a human community, they presented the death process as acceptable, even desirable. With the help of this particularly female analogy, then, they preached a Christian ascetic's attitude—a desire for death that was not suicidal, for it was patient, but that was strong enough to counteract the usual deep fear. They brought a woman's imagery and a woman's philosophy to the service of Christianity, and were able to rationalize through Christianity the sufferings peculiar to women.

### *Lives of Catherine and Julian*

Catherine Benincasa, daughter of a well-to-do Sienese dye maker, and second to youngest of many children, was from an early age a visionary.<sup>3</sup> She played the role of conscience within her religiously inclined family. She joined the Dominican tertiaries (or lay sisters) at fifteen, continuing to live at home but taking on a religious habit. She devoted herself to dominating her sensual appetites by asceticism, to prayer in states of intense emotion and

trance; tacitly for the most part in this period, she exhorted her family and neighbors to lead a less worldly life. From her early twenties, she became more active as a leader of others. She ministered to the poor and ill, and undertook political action in the form of letters and diplomatic visits to leaders. Though barely literate, she became the beloved counselor and leader of a group of men and women, as well as a respected figure in Italian politics. She wrote by dictation many letters to members of all strata of society; and, toward the end of her life, she produced a book, the *Dialogue*.

Julian of Norwich, likewise an urban woman, apparently had more education.<sup>4</sup> She could read and write English, though probably not Latin. She lived the life of a hard working pious lay woman, until, at the age of thirty, when she was very ill and seemed to be dying, she beheld a series of visions and discovered, as revelations from Jesus Christ, her deepest beliefs. From about this time, it is believed, she lived in a special cell or cottage attached to the church of St. Julian in Norwich. She renamed herself after the patron saint of the church that sheltered her. Apparently she lived with a female companion, "Sara."<sup>5</sup> We do not know the extent of her reclusiveness and asceticism, but it was sufficient to allow contemporaries to call her a "recluse" or " anchoress," terms that imply an extremely if not totally shut in life. She wrote the narrative of her visionary experiences at thirty in her book of *Shewings*, first in short form, and twenty years later, in a revised and considerably augmented version.

Both Catherine and Julian, writing in the 1370's, faced a public crisis of morale related to the bubonic plague which was decimating European society. They offered spiritual guidance to the individual in overcoming his terror of death and Hell. They stood in some respects at opposite poles of religious experience: Catherine a moralist and activist, Julian a contemplative and theological thinker. Yet they both spoke effectively to the same issue. Both wrote in the vernacular for lay people, though depending for written transmission on priests.

They had undoubtedly some direct experience of the plague which created such an atmosphere of instability and terror. Catherine was a small child in 1348-9, when the "Black Death"

first struck.<sup>6</sup> In 1361, the next plague year in Italy, she was a teenager wholly absorbed in penitential practises and visions of her own union with her bridegroom, Christ.

In 1374, however, another plague year, she was active in the service of the plague stricken as well as of other sick people. She performed, we are told, miracles of healing with some of her own followers.<sup>7</sup>

As to Julian, she was six when the plague first struck Norwich and killed, it is thought, some 50,000 persons.<sup>8</sup> When she was twenty seven, in 1369, the plague again took many lives. We know that she wished for an illness which should strike her when she reached thirty and which, though not actually fatal, should lead her to a total confrontation with death, with “no comfort of any fleshly or earthly life.”<sup>9</sup> She had forgotten the wish when it was fulfilled. It seems likely that she had formed it in the aftermath of the plague three and a half years before, and that the thought was part of her state of mind as a survivor.

### *The Virgin Mary as Role Model*

Women in Western society, particularly religious women in medieval society, were generally the ones who nursed the dying and who publicly mourned the dead. For medieval women, it was the Virgin who stood, not only for the miracle of generation, but also for perfection in mourning and in joy restored. Mercifully, moreover, she interceded for sinners with God the judge. Julian of Norwich presented Mary in visions that showed her experiencing conception, mourning, and consolation. As Julian says:

Our Lord showed me no one in particular  
except our Lady Saint Mary, and he showed  
her to me three times. The first was as  
she was as she conceived, the second was  
as she was in her sorrows under the cross  
and the third was as she is now, in  
delight, glory and joy.<sup>10</sup>

In the structure of her narrative, we find Julian reenacting the experiences of the Virgin. First she lies calm and submissive on what she believes is her deathbed; then suddenly—gazing upon the crucifix—she simultaneously feels herself healed, sees the crucifix

pouring with blood, and hears in her mind words uttered by Christ. It can be said of this event, which she recognizes as inward rather than outward in nature, that she conceives her own salvation. She asks next to share in the Passion, wishing “with compassion that his pain should be my pain.” She begins to see with great empathy various signs of Christ’s laceration and suffering. Here she is in spirit with Mary and with the others who loved Christ at the foot of the cross. Finally, she joyfully shares Christ’s triumphs. She hears Christ announce his defeat of the devil, and she laughs with delight. She grows certain of God’s providential love for humanity. She learns that God is in nature and in the human soul. “Our reason is grounded in God who is substantial nature.”<sup>11</sup> She sees God sitting enthroned at the very center of our human soul. These triumphs and consolations are comparable psychologically to the ascension of the Virgin.

During these joyful revelations, Julian dares to ask the great question, “Why is there sin?” Thus, in her own way, she too intercedes for sinners. She receives from Christ several answers to her question. Souls, she is taught, are improved by sin if it is followed by contrition. But what if it is not followed by contrition? More reassurance comes from Christ telling Julian that he will perform a deed to “make all well.” And again, “All shall be well and all manner of things shall be well.”<sup>12</sup> To those who love him, in any case, Christ is “our true mother; in Him we are endlessly born, and we shall never come out of him.”<sup>13</sup> Thus it is Christ who becomes the mother, and Julian, consoled by him, acts as a mother in her way of consoling us.

In Catherine’s *Dialogue* on the other hand, the two speakers, the *Soul* and *God*, take on the roles of mourning and consolation. The *Soul* laments and *God* consoles her. At moments, the *Soul* becomes a woman *with* a soul, and *God* says such things as: Dearest Daughter...now I would refresh your soul by softening your grief. The *Soul*, like Julian, imitates Mary and intercedes for sinners; indeed it is the *Soul*’s chief concern to pray for them, to wrest mercy and grace from Christ.<sup>14</sup>

In the eyes of others, too, Catherine was easily likened to the Virgin Mary. Catherine’s follower, Barduccio di Piero Canigiani, in a letter written soon after her death, describes her as “the blessed

virgin, mother of thousands and thousands of souls.”<sup>15</sup> Among other disciples of hers, in the same period, letters were written calling her “holy Mama” and “most blessed Mama.”<sup>16</sup> Her disciples were not merely referring to the close family life they had lived with the saint, in which she was called “Mama” and her mother, Lapa, was called “Nonna” (“Granny”); they were referring, I believe, to Catherine’s power as a spiritual mother to save them. In a woodcut frontispiece of the first edition of Catherine’s letters (1492) we can see the same idea visually expressed, for like the Virgin in certain paintings, Catherine stands sheltering the world of men and women under her outspread cape.<sup>17</sup>

*Christ as Mother—Giving Birth as Analogue to Salvation*

Though the Virgin Mary offered a role model to these women as they attempted to guide mankind towards consolation, it was Christ whom they chose to see as the model of motherhood. Specifically, Christ, as the redeemer of mankind, could be compared to a mother giving birth and nurturing her offspring, combining self sacrifice and love. With Catherine the female metaphor comes gradually, she slides from a male to a female figure:

when the great doctor [Christ] came...  
he did as the wet nurse who herself drinks  
the medicine the baby needs, because she is big  
and strong and the baby is too weak to stand  
the bitterness. My son was your wet nurse...<sup>18</sup>

Julian works out more fully and at greater length the idea of Christ as our mother, elaborating a theological analogy first made by St. Anselm of Canterbury. She stresses the humility in Christ’s serving a mother’s function.

Our natural mother, our gracious mother..., made  
himself entirely ready in our poor flesh in  
order to do the service and the office of  
motherhood himself in all things.<sup>19</sup>

Julian stresses the analogy of Christ’s with women’s suffering in its painfulness:

Thus he sustained us within himself  
in love and hard labor, until the fulness of  
time. Then he willed to suffer the sharpest  
thorns and the most grievous pains there ever  
were or ever will be, and to die at the last.<sup>20</sup>

Thus far her image concerns the redemption of humanity at the time of Christ's crucifixion. It is immediately linked, however, with the eucharistic feeding of mankind throughout Christian history.

...all of this still could not satisfy his  
marvellous love. ...He could not die any  
more, but he would not stop working.

Therefore it was necessary for him to  
feed us, for the most precious love of  
motherhood had made him a debtor to us.  
A mother can give her child milk to suck,  
but our precious mother, Jesus, can feed  
us with himself. He does so most courteously  
and most tenderly, with the Blessed Sacrament...<sup>21</sup>

She teaches, further, that it is Jesus who acts through earthly mothers to love and nurture mankind; and in so teaching, she sets forth her ideal of *natural* mothering:

The natural loving mother, who recognizes  
and knows the need of her child, takes care of it  
most tenderly, as the nature and condition of  
motherhood will do. And continually, as the child  
grows in age and size, she changes what she does  
but not her love. When the child has grown older,  
she allows it to be punished, breaking down vices to  
enable the child to receive virtues and grace.<sup>22</sup>

Julian thus shows awareness of a positive moral mission in motherhood, and of a balance of gentleness and severity in the thoughtful mother's repertoire. She also sees mothers as leaving the actual punishing to someone else (probably fathers). Here is the model for her God, who never punishes man but does allow him to fall and to suffer in consequence. Here is the model also for Julian herself as visionary, one who "does not see" sin and damnation at all. Julian's observation of good mothering constitutes a basis for optimism in her metaphysics and in her style as a teacher. In these ways she is unlike Catherine and her God, who administer "bitter medicine."

Both Julian and Catherine practised a particular devotion to Christ's wound, to the sacred heart and the blood. This devotion links the wound (suffering and death) with the womb (birth and life).

Then with a happy face [writes Julian], our Lord looked at his wounded side and gazed into it, rejoicing. With his sweet gazing he drew forth the understanding of his creature through that same wound into his side within. And there he showed a fair, delectable place, large enough for all of mankind who shall be saved to rest there in peace and love. With this, he brought to my mind his most valuable blood and the precious water which he let pour out completely for love.<sup>23</sup>

In this vision of Christ's inner space Julian suggests Christ as child-bearer; the blood and water suggest the birth process.

She writes a veritable hymn to Christ's "most valuable blood," which flows over the earth offering salvation, and which, in heaven:

...is there in him bleeding, praying for us to the Father; it is and shall be as long as there is need. It flows in all of heaven forever enjoying the salvation of all mankind who are there, and it shall fill up the number that is lacking.<sup>24</sup>

This to me suggests the menstrual blood of women in general, related as it is to the mystery of generation; and menstrual blood as the tears of the spinster, because she is barren; as well as the tears of the Virgin who, though fruitful while pure, bore her child for sorrow. The first association of devout women of the late medieval church, however, would have been with the eucharistic wine, the ever flowing blood of the Savior. For them the biological symbolism may even have remained unconscious, while religious symbolism was ever-present to consciousness.

In Catherine's *Dialogue*, she, too, refers to Christ's wound as heaven's gate:

I let them open his side so that you might see his inmost heart. I set him like an open hostelry where you could see and taste my unspeakable love for you...<sup>25</sup>

This image was, it seems, the source of rapturous sensual visions for Catherine. As her earlier confessor told Raymond, at one time she had a vision in which Christ teased her with his wound as a mother teases an infant with the breast, bringing it close and withdrawing it, then allowing her to drink deeply of his blood. This is a vision which expresses Catherine's relation to Christ on many

levels. It expresses her reverent hunger for the eucharist; her longing to be lost in infantile oneness with the mother; and, in a metaphor, her faith that Christ is present to the mystic no less in moments of dejection and dryness than in moments of conscious fulfillment.

In a famous letter Catherine develops further the image of Christ's wound. She had talked through the night with a man condemned to die, converting him from despair to a firm expectation of heaven, and she was close by when his head was cut off. Catherine closed her eyes at this moment and saw Christ as an image made of light, with the man's newly released soul entering the savior's side. The soul turned back her head, Catherine says, like a bride crossing her bridegroom's threshold. It was a gesture of gratitude, and extremely sweet to Catherine. While gazing upon this vision, Catherine became aware of the smell of blood, and knew that it covered her garments. She did not wish to remove it.<sup>26</sup> Blood was at once a holy sacrifice on earth and a sacred joyful element in heaven. Christ, here, is both cosmic mother and husband of the soul.

In visions, for Catherine and Julian, the pierced side of Jesus comes to resemble the womb as home and longed-for shelter, and Christ gives blood to the worshipper as a woman gives milk to her infant. This kind of imagery was originally developed in the twelfth century by St. Bernard of Cîteaux in celebrating his own feminine role as mother-abbott giving tender care to his spiritual children; in the thirteenth century, however, devotion to Christ's wound and blood became characteristic of female mystics. We seem to need an explanation of the fact that this devotion was particularly favored by women. And the fact has been explained, indeed, as a way of touching and being united with Christ similar to the priest's handling of Christ in the eucharist. The flesh and blood of Christ could be called down by the priest; women, by means of visions, could rise to it.<sup>27</sup> This kind of devotion to Christ's blood and wound has also been explained in terms of biologically based psychology. The woman saint seeks an image of the cosmic and of mediation between divine and human in the mysteries of her own body: the capacity for genital incorporation, the blood connected with reproductive processes, the womb as shelter of new life.<sup>28</sup> Both cultural and strictly psychological explanations apply, it seems to me, but they do not seem sufficient.

In addition to the longing for priestly authority and the conscious or unconscious fantasies surrounding the sexual and generative powers of the body, we must recognize the fixation on pain expected of medieval devout women. Through devotion to Christ's wound, both Julian and Catherine show the marvel of pain and blood becoming joy and health, a needed marvel and related to a female mystery, giving birth. In this way they express the meaning of the crucifixion and also of their own lives, which were lives of chosen renunciation and chosen pain.

*Asceticism—the Choice of Pain as the Path of Devout Women*

Women in the medieval mystical tradition often manifestly rejected their own bodies, their earthly wishes, and also their intellectual processes apart from "revelations," and did so to an even greater degree than men with aspirations to sainthood. It is admirable, as Carolyn Bynum implies, that

For the first time in Christian history certain major devotional and theological emphases emanate from women...When careful comparative study of saints' lives and spiritual treatises has been done, it indicates that in the thirteenth century, women were more likely than men to be mystics, to gain reputations based on their mystical abilities, and to have paramystical experiences (such as trances, levitations, stigmata, etc.).<sup>29</sup>

But it is disturbing to notice that, in content, the line of development to which women contributed was even more dualistic and anti-intellectual than medieval Christianity in general. While there were certainly male mystics and ascetics, especially St. Francis of Assisi, who contributed to this line of development, the fact is that religious women, unlike men, were unable to speak with religious authority in the church unless they were visionaries and committed to a life of deliberate pain.

The same visions (like the drinking of Christ's blood) are recorded here and there among the women in this tradition, so that we see the diffusion of ideas both among hagiographers and among the saints themselves. Catherine and Dorothea of Montau (her contemporary in far-away Prussia), for instance, both experience Christ cutting out their own heart and replacing it with his. Similarly,

specific acts of asceticism are repeated. Angela of Foligno, in the early fourteenth century, drank water that had been used to cleanse a leper's suppurating wounds and declared that it delighted her<sup>30</sup>—Catherine, according to Raymond's account, did the same.<sup>31</sup>

The lives of the saintly women often ended by sheer escalation in pitiable self-martyrdom. Dorothea of Montau<sup>32</sup> had herself walled up under the pulpit of the cathedral, in a small stone cell with windows but no door. Here she took the eucharist and was admired by the congregation. Stoveless in a Prussian winter, she was hot with psychically induced fever. She starved herself to death. Catherine ruined her health by her fasting; she died, in her thirties, after almost unceasing illness. Shortly before her death she was given a house and land which she turned, by papal permission, into a convent. She, however, lived her last days as a penniless guest in a Roman house, while her travelling companions begged in the streets.

In the *Dialogue*, Catherine's explicit rationale for her love of suffering contains two quite distinct arguments. On the one hand, she wishes to suffer on earth to avoid suffering in purgatory. On the other, even if she could come to heaven without suffering, she would not wish to do so, because it would seem disloyal to Christ, who, in his human nature, suffered.<sup>33</sup> This second argument she shares with Julian, who describes herself, on her bed of illness, choosing rather to gaze upon the crucifix than to raise her eyes directly to heaven. She "would rather have been in that pain until judgment day than have come to heaven by any means other than him..."<sup>34</sup> Julian is concerned with the second argument only, and she feels she has done what was necessary by suffering once with Christ. Herein we see her essentially confident nature. We can understand that, having almost arrived at heaven in 1373, when she saw her visions, she went on to live another forty or fifty years. With Catherine the first argument—the need for sufficient punishment here on earth to avoid punishment later—counts for more, and her life was cut short by her austerities. Catherine, unlike Julian, stresses the "self-contempt" and holy self-hate of the virtuous.<sup>35</sup>

Moral self-contempt such as Catherine both practised and preached was then as later, I believe, an unappeasable and self-

perpetuating inner force. Yet the medieval self-persecutor differed from the modern victim of an uncontrolled superego in that she had Pauline psychology to explain her activity and to set at least a certain psychological limit. Her explanation was that the new, spiritual self was doing battle against the old, fleshly one. The limit was that she did not—like many modern masochists—hate herself for hating herself. The superego was not turned against itself.

Catherine expresses this difference when she says that, as the body becomes thin, the spirit becomes fat and happy:

So their suffering is fattening, not distressing,  
because no sadness or pain can drag them out  
of the fire. So it is with these souls cast into  
the furnace of my charity, who keep nothing  
at all, not a bit of their own will, outside  
of me, but are completely set afire in me.  
There is no one who can seize them or drag  
them out of my grace.<sup>36</sup>

There was a strong positive purpose, then, bound up with the “holy self hate” of Catherine. Angela of Foligno, a half-century earlier, expressed her purpose most succinctly when she said: “I was transformed in the grief of Jesus Christ crucified.”<sup>37</sup> She describes the strengthening through sorrow of her will to do God’s will, which has become unshakeable. Angela had wished to overcome her former character, which, as she saw it, was that of a vain, gluttonous, petty, smug, hypocritical “good” woman. And what else made Julian desire an illness that would make her believe she was dying?

#### *Male Demand for Visions from Devout Women and Complicity in Female Self-Hate*

We can see the focus of male admiration of Catherine quite clearly in the biography by Raymond of Capua and in other contemporary accounts of her miraculous life. Though we can deduce that Catherine was a thinker and an administrator, we see only a saintly ecstatic with moments of short temper and an immense persistence in talking. The stress is always on Catherine’s suffering. All is ascetic feats, and miracles, providing sensation and spectacle. Men listened and sometimes recorded with awe the visions of their spiritual daughters. Men took dictation from Catherine, and she

was able to keep up a lively correspondence with princes, hermits, fellow tertiaries, nuns, lay women, artisans all over Italy—would this have been possible if she had not dictated, always, in a state of trance (*de sensibus abstracta*)?<sup>38</sup> Probably not, for even these letters were edited by her followers to preserve only the exalted sermonizing with which they began and not the straightforward and specific discussion of earthly matters which—to judge by the few unedited ones—comprised the larger part of most of them.<sup>39</sup> It is clear that, given Catherine's situation, the *Dialogue* had to be, as it was, visionary in its framework and charismatic in its authority, though in substance and purpose it was a systematic prescriptive treatise on the practise of contemplation and moral virtue.

In her first version of the *Shewings* Julian tells a story which reveals the way male expectations probably shaped the female mystics' behavior. The next day after her first experience of visions, she was still ill, in pain, and "as barren and dry as I had never had but little comfort before..."

Then came a religious person to me, and asked me how I fared. And I said that I had raved that day. And he laughed loud and heartily.

And I said: "The Cross that stood at my bed's foot, it bled fast." And with this word the person that I spoke to waxed all sad [sober] and marvelling. And anon I was sore ashamed for my recklessness [thoughtlessness], and I thought thus: "This man takes it sadly the least word that I might say, though I say no more thereto." And when I saw that he took it so sadly, and with so great reverence, I waxed right greatly ashamed, and would have been shriven [received absolution]. But I could tell it no priest; for I thought, "How should a priest believe me? I believe not our Lord God."<sup>40</sup>

The reaction of her male religious friend informed Julian that she had been too ready to doubt the objective value of her visions. It also informed her, on another level, that if she held on to belief in these visions, she would be seriously listened to.

Julian insisted, however, on keeping her awareness of the difference between subjective and objective events. It was part of her experience of seeing visions, that she was aware of their private and immaterial nature:

The bleeding was so abundant as I saw that  
 I thought if it had been actually happening  
 that way in nature and substance at that time,  
 it would have filled the entire bed with blood  
 and spilled over on all sides.<sup>41</sup>

This awareness was not the stuff saints were made of.

Had she been a man she might even have written her visions as, for example, Dante and Langland wrote, without repeated asseverations of the visions' authentic source in Christ and of Christ's special approval even of her revising them. But it seems most unlikely that such a semi-secular work by a woman would have had a good chance of preservation. Certainly not by the scribes available to Julian.

Ernest McDonnell, after a discussion of Jacques de Vitry's life of Marie d'Oignies, mentions what he considers the credulity of Jacques in admiring

...the raptures of the *mulieres religiosae*,  
 their body destroying austerities, their  
 inexhaustible flood of tears, the sense-experience  
 of their faith...<sup>42</sup>

I suggest that what men did when they reported these things with admiration was not merely to accept, but to select, to reinforce, and to demand such behavior. Perhaps men—the confessors, the prelates, and ultimately the papacy with its criteria for saintliness—sanctioned this one path to religious authority for women because it was so thorny. Few would be likely to take it, and those who did would reinforce the role of woman as humble subject and willing victim. “Sexual politics,” as Kate Millett used that term, that is, literary celebration of women as glad to be victimized, seems to have a major part in hagiography.

Nor should we ignore “the politics of madness,”—the way, as Ronald Laing and Gregory Bateson have described it, that social systems, sometimes create a demand for ‘thought disorders’ in their members. Catherine's confessors, according to Raymond of Capua, usually opposed Catherine's excessive scruples and especially her excessive fasting. No doubt Raymond himself did so for a time. Yet he and other biographers admired those same austerities as signs of sanctity and tell us as something exemplary exactly how little she usually ate and how, after every meal, she

made herself throw up what she had eaten. They express a classic double bind: on the one hand, “do not starve yourself, you are a good person and need not do such terrible penances.” On the other, “if you eat, I will no longer consider you as special and no one will pay attention to your inspirations.” And to complete the bind, the injunction, “this is a contradiction that must not be mentioned.”

### *Authors' Rejection of Their Own Femininity*

It is not surprising, perhaps, that Julian apologized at first for the very fact that she was writing. She was troubled by the reception she would find as “a woman, unlearned, feeble and frail...”<sup>43</sup> In the longer, later version, she omits this passage. She also takes out the word “Daughter,” by which she had the Curate address her when he came to her bed of illness. She refers to herself simply as “a creature.”<sup>44</sup> She omits mention of her mother. Where in the earlier version she spoke of “a certain person that I loved” and desired to know “how it should be with her,” she now changes the first locution to “creature” and restates the second so as to omit all reference to gender.<sup>45</sup> There are, as a result, no references in the longer version to any woman other than the Virgin Mary. Scholars, noting the absence of references to Julian’s sex in the second version, have seen this censoring simply as part of an attempt to keep her personality out of the work—to universalize herself. They have not seen it as a way of dealing with the idea of woman’s inferiority expressed by Julian in the first version and clearly imputed to her readers. Yet had the scribe of the second version not added his colophons, and had the earlier version been lost (as it was until the present century), the book, aided by Julian’s assumed masculine name, would have passed as a man’s. Julian, although her stance is mainly borrowed from Mary and her thinking about salvation is shaped by female experience, certainly did not want her readers to think of her as a woman speaking.

In the *Dialogue*, Catherine likewise puts her gender well into the background, though she lets us know that she is female. The voices and images she presents give the book as a whole an androgynous effect. The *Soul* and even *God* seem, in an exalted way, feminine

figures: The *Soul* expresses passionate feminine self-surrender; *God* offers tender concern and didactic explanation in the manner of a counselor who may well be female. The body of Christ, her central image, is neither masculine nor feminine—it is a bridge that we walk, a ladder that we climb, a feast that we run to enjoy. In walking, climbing, eating, we, however,—humanity—are active, not passive, hence, in traditional terms, masculine rather than feminine. Catherine's frequent use of the word *virilmente* for how we should act shows her concern to foster “male” courage. As pure soul, she is female; as human being she wishes to take on masculine traits.

From what we know from Raymond of Capua of Catherine's life, we can confirm this androgynous impression—the result of a selective rejection of “feminine” characteristics in favor of an androgynous ideal that could do more in the service of virtue. In her adolescence, and indeed earlier, Catherine emphatically rejected the reproductive destiny that was normal for women. She even considered disguising herself as a boy in order to join a monastery. Raymond, who tells us all this and speaks of her early preference for solitary prayer, her decision to cut off her hair and to avoid all feminine ornaments, her shunning of contact with men who, of course, would view her as a nubile girl, her deliberate burning and blistering of her own skin, her excessive and eventually involuntary rejection of food, views all these things as part of the sacred marriage to Christ and the quest for purity. So, doubtless, did Catherine. She was very fond of one married sister who, at a certain point, was able to convince Catherine to make some gesture towards dressing up. Shortly thereafter the sister died in childbirth. Even years later Catherine confessed with violent grief to that moment of her own yielding to vanity for which, she felt, God had punished her sister with death in order to remove temptation from Catherine's life. This story can also be read as a moment of ambivalence toward the feminine role represented by her sister, followed by confirmation of Catherine's worst fears and more than ever passionate rejection. When she was fifteen, the lay sisters of St. Dominic decided that her physical appearance was such that, despite her youth, she was in no way likely to disgrace them by a sexual escapade. As an adult, she, with her starved *fragile corpicciuolo*, “little body,”<sup>46</sup> must have seemed neuter.

*Rationality*

The texts of Julian and Catherine are poetic and rich in images, as we should expect of visionaries, but they are also distinguished by careful reasoning and self-explanation. Though inspired by St. Paul, St. Bernard, and Meister Eckhardt, they do not delight in peremptory statements and paradoxical assertions. To illustrate the caution and rational finesse of these women, we have only to compare how they say what they say with how the noted male authorities behind them say more or less the same things.

The following is an example of St. Bernard of Clairveaux talking about prayer as it deepens. Influenced perhaps by the *Song of Songs* on which he was commenting, he employs highly sensuous language:

Often we approach the altar and begin to pray  
with a heart lukewarm and dry. But if we  
steadily persist, grace comes suddenly in a  
flood upon us, our breast grows full of increase,  
a wave of piety fills our inward heart; and  
if we press on, the milk of sweetness conceived  
in us will spread over us in fruitful flood.<sup>47</sup>

However rich and tactile, olfactory and gustatory the metaphors Catherine uses, she never allows herself to present an image without explaining each point in non-metaphorical terms. In effect, she makes every image an explicit allegory. Often enough, she does not use imagery at all. Here is how she discusses deepening prayer, focussing particularly on the transition from verbal to non-verbal meditation:

...A soul may set herself to say a certain  
number of oral prayers. But I may visit her spirit  
in one way or another, sometimes with a flash  
of self-knowledge and contrition for her sinfulness,  
sometimes in the greatness of my love  
setting before her mind the presence of my  
Truth in different ways, depending on my  
pleasure or her longings. And sometimes the soul  
will be so foolish as to abandon my visitation,  
which she senses within her spirit, in order to  
complete her tally... That is not the way she  
should act.<sup>48</sup>

Aside from her non-use of sensuous imagery, Catherine does not write about a good meditation but about a failure to be avoided.

This, too, is a characteristic difference from Bernard, reflecting her greater insecurity and caution.

When she does arrive at a metaphor or concretization of the experience it sounds like this:

...she will experience prayer in truth and  
that food which is the body and blood of my  
only begotten Son. And this is why I told  
you that some souls communicate in the body  
and blood of Christ actually, even though  
not sacramentally...<sup>49</sup>

Julian of Norwich tended to immanentism and to a high degree of optimism about the relationship of man to God and of God to man. Evelyn Underhill suggests that Julian was in Meister Eckhardt's tradition, and Underhill compares a series of passages to show the theological similarity.<sup>50</sup> I wish to reproduce a few of these pairs of passages to show the consistent difference in rhetorical stance. Eckhardt, the learned man of great renown, pronounces. He is bold and paradoxical. He speaks from the point of view of Man. Julian states personal convictions, relates them to her personally experienced revelations, and suggests, where possible, psychological observation as a basis.

Eckhardt:  
God needs me as much as I need him.

Julian:  
For in us he enjoyeth without end.

What is almost defiance in Eckhardt, defiance of our humble part, is integrated in Julian's case into her general revelation to God's eternal and omnipotent love for us. The audacious idea of "need" is gone.

Eckhardt:  
The soul is created that it may flow back into  
the bottom of that bottomless fountain whence  
it came forth.

Julian:  
Thus I understood that all his blessed children  
which be come out of Him by nature shall be brought  
again into Him by grace.

Both Eckhardt and Julian here stress the beneficent plan of God, and leave little room for damnation. Eckhardt expresses the idea of a return to God in a smooth cycle that answers no questions about

who actually gets back to God and by what means. Julian's *shall* is more absolute than Eckhardt's *may* but by saying *all his blessed children*, she can be seen as referring only to the elect. With Eckhardt there is a suggestion that the flowing back is God's purpose in creating the soul. Julian does not risk an ambiguous statement about God's purpose. Eckhardt enjoys the paradox of *bottomless bottom*. Julian does not, here or anywhere, play on words.

Eckhardt:

Evil is nothing but a privation of being:  
not an effect but a defect.

Julian:

I saw not sin, for I believe it hath no substance  
nor any part of being.

Julian does not make a pronouncement on the subject, but merely says what she personally "did not see." Elsewhere, she adds: "I wished, as much as I dared, that I would have had a complete view of Hell and purgatory. In wishing this, it was not my intention to test anything that holy Church teaches they do. My intention was to see so that I could learn all about the things that belong to my faith, and because of them live more for God's glory and my profit."<sup>51</sup>

It seems clear at once that the tendency to full intellectual self-explanation in both Catherine and Julian is partly a response to the danger of being accused of heresy. In writing at all they, as women, were intruding into a male domain, and in assuming specifically religious authority, they depended for influence and even for safety on the opinion of their priestly allies that their visions were indeed from God. Catherine, we know, twice faced official inquiry into her beliefs and the authenticity of her "holiness"—once at a gathering of the heads of the Dominican Order and once at the Papal court. Certain moments of hedging in Julian's text are obviously meant to avoid the shadow of heresy. The general concern with spelling out her meaning, however, seems part of Julian's temperament, as a passion for teaching seems part of Catherine's. Both Catherine and Julian may have used careful thought, not only as a defense against the outer world, but as a kind of inner counter-weight to their mystical gifts.

*Attitudes toward Death*

Let us look, then, at how these women express their Christian attitudes toward death. We shall find a close connection with the role of ascetics and visionaries which, as we have noted, society demanded of female spiritual leaders. It followed from Catherine's beliefs and way of life, for instance, that she longed for death. To her this was the obvious and natural condition of those she calls virtuous.

Death gives [virtuous souls] no difficulty.  
They long for it. With perfect contempt they  
have done battle with their bodies. Therefore,  
they have lost that natural tenderness which  
binds soul and body, having dealt the decisive  
blow to natural love with contempt for bodily  
life and love for me [God]. They long for death,  
and so they say, "Who will free me from my body?"<sup>52</sup>

In general, Julian, by comparison with Catherine, seems joyful and almost easy going. This is partly I think, because we have no biography—no confessors' revelations. It is also because of Julian's optimistic view of God and man. Nevertheless, Julian describes herself at thirty with "great longing and desire, by the gift of God, to be delivered from this world..."<sup>53</sup> Aside from our troubles on earth and the well-being of those in heaven, she says, she was moved by the sense that Christ was absent on earth but present in heaven. In addition, she reports, she suffered from "wretchedness, sloth, weakness and weariness." This does not sound very enlightened, and indeed, Julian offers this as a description of her state before her revelations.

Even after that moment, however, Julian rejoiced at the prospect of death. She had a vision that she should die suddenly, and she took this to mean, not that she would die without illness or pain but that her end, whenever it came, would surprise her. She felt that this was true of people in general, and that the extra patience one thus exercises in relation to the desired liberation counts as extra virtue in the believer. Another bit of evidence for Julian's longing for death even after her revelations is offered by this description of a vision:

And at this time I saw a body lying on  
the earth. This body appeared heavy, ugly,

frightening and without shape or form, as if it were a swollen bog of stinking mud. Suddenly out of this body sprang a most fair creature, a little child fully shaped and formed, swift and lively, and whiter than the lily, who sharply glided up to heaven.<sup>54</sup>

Here is death as birth, with rejection of the maternal body and idealization of the child-soul.

Even when she shows less severe dualism, less contempt for the body, as in the striking phrase, "A man walks upright and his soul is enclosed in his body as in a beautiful purse," she suggests the propriety of separation from it. "In time of necessity, the purse is opened and closed again, quite properly." Here she may refer to death, or simply to God's visits to the soul in such times of separation from the body as she experienced when having visions. Her own visions were a needed remedy, it seems, not for the pain of dying but for the pain of living.

Julian, unlike Catherine in this, recognizes the possibility of fear of death in a virtuous soul, and she finds a use for it. At its simplest level, it is "the pain of bodily death and of spiritual enemies" (fear of death being practically always associated with fear of devils). This fear awakens the soul to penitence. A higher level of fear, which she calls "reverent dread," leads us to "hastily flee from all that is not good and fall into our Lord's breast as a child into its mother's arms..."<sup>55</sup> The image and the implied trust are very characteristic of Julian, who tended, much more than Catherine, to see nature, woman, and God in harmony. For Catherine, fear of death is gradually trained out of the soul by self-punishment; for Julian it is suddenly (perhaps repeatedly) transformed into loving trust.

### *Deathbed Behavior*

Catherine had a stroke, which was accompanied by a nightmare vision of the church falling upon her and crushing her. She had exerted great efforts to bring the pope back to Rome from Avignon, and the result of his actual return had been a catastrophe for the church, the papal schism. Catherine held herself responsible. After her stroke she experienced a period of unconsciousness, and

thereafter she was afraid for a time that an alien spirit, not her own, was inhabiting her body. Once she overcame this idea as a delusion from Satan, she fought against other devils, taunting her with sin and urging her to despair. She had been granted two deathbed absolutions for all her sins in general, one from Gregory XI and another from Benedict VI. She asked for both absolutions from her attendant priest, and made a general confession each time. And even after this she spoke of her own sins, of inadequacy in guiding her disciples and slowness in doing the will of God.<sup>56</sup> The disciple who describes all this thinks that perhaps she only lamented her sins as long as she did in order to set a good example to those around her. He sees his spiritual mother as, in a sense, an actress—so absorbed in playing a saving role for others that she hides her actual serenity. Certainly her character was deeply theatrical. Nonetheless, penitence was so characteristic of her—so much part of that humility of the female saint which intensified the feminine role in general—that perhaps she was still emotionally engaged in sorrow for inadequacies. This was no fear, however, but Catherine's way of approaching God. At the last, she expressed in one word, the dominant image of her life: "Blood," she screamed, "blood! blood!"

When we consider Julian's bed of illness, which she thought was her deathbed, we see some similarities of conduct. She, too, concerned herself with those around her in the manner of a teacher. "It is today doomsday with me," she said.

This I said because I would they loved God  
more, and set less price by the vanity  
of the world, for to make them to have mind  
that this life is short, as they might see  
in example by me.<sup>57</sup>

And the first vision, the dominant vision, that suddenly comes to her is a vision of blood, blood related both to eucharistic union with Christ and to Christ as the apotheosis of motherhood.

### *Conclusion—Death without Fear*

Julian's concern with sin in the *Shewings* is very different from Catherine's in the *Dialogue*. She wants to understand its place in the order of the universe. It is the essence of her vision that love is

enough, that love of God includes trust that sin will be forgiven. The tone is different from Catherine's tone of anguished pleading to man for reform and to God for mercy. Yet the message of Julian is the same as that of *God's* first paragraph in Catherine's *Dialogue*: an offense against God, being an offense against the infinite, cannot be made good by any finite work; yet all is forgiven if the soul has a true desire for God. "Infinite love and infinite sorrow" are within the capacity of the human soul, and they make man acceptable to God. For both Julian and Catherine, suffering, especially suffering over one's own inadequacies, promises union with a perfect, loving personal God.

We can see what it was that society gained from the foot-binding of woman's spirit. They could become models of unworldliness while serviceable in the world. These uneducated women, whom no one asked to write and whose writing was accomplished against great odds, were required, by those who would transmit and could suppress their work, to manifest total devotion and asceticism, an other-worldly way of life hardly known in equally intellectually active men. They for their part accepted this requirement and used that particular way of life to arrive at familiarity, almost friendliness, with absolutes—God and death in particular—and to develop an extraordinary tone of generous authority in relation to their fellow human beings. The women who attained spiritual leadership thus made themselves articulate teachers, as well as models, of every day fearlessness.

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<sup>1</sup> Catherine of Siena, *The Dialogue*, tr. Suzanne Noffke, O.P., New York, Paulist Press, 1980. Noffke's bibliography, p. 367, lists older and more recent Italian editions.

Juliana of Norwich, *Revelations of Divine Love*, tr. M. L. del Mastro, New York, Doubleday, 1977. This is the most recent translation of the long version of Julian's book. The short version was translated by Dondas Harford, as *Comfortable Words for Christ's Lovers*, London, H. R. Allenson, n.d. (1919).

<sup>2</sup> This idea is quite central to two otherwise very different recent studies of medieval women mystics. Carolyn Bynum, *Jesus as Mother, Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982, and Elizabeth Petroff, *Consolation of the Blessed* (a study of thirteenth century Italian women saints), New York, Alta Gaia Society, 1979.

<sup>3</sup> For the life of St. Catherine of Siena, there is still only one critical study, providing careful description and sometimes reproduction of the archival documents referring to her and to her family. While one may not agree with the author's conclusions on every point, he provides the evidence on which to make one's own assessment. Correctly, it seems to me, he revises the traditional birthdate of Catherine on the basis of documentary evidence from 1347 to an earlier date. I believe that it could be any year, however, between 1337 and 1445. Robert Fawtier, *Ste. Catherine de Sienne; essai de critique des sources*, I, II, Paris (E. de Boccard) 1921, 1930. A judicious more recent account is P. Alvaro Grion, O. P. *Santa Caterina da Siena*, Cremona, Morcelliana, 1953. English language biographies, including Edmund Garrett Gardner *Saint Catherine of Siena*, London, J. M. Dent and Co. 1907, and Alice Curtayne, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, London, Sheed and Ward, 1929, are to be consulted with caution. Raymond of Capua's life is available in modern Italian, tr. P. Giuseppe Tinagli, Raimundus de Capua, *S. Caterina da Siena*, Siena, Cantagalli, 1934. There is also a rare English translation by George Lamb, *The Life of St. Catherine of Siena*, New York, P. J. Kenedy, 1960.

For the life of Julian of Norwich, the small amount of information is summed up in James J. Walsh, S. J. ed., *Julian of Norwich, The Revelations of Divine Love*, London, Burns and Oates, 1961, "Introduction," and brought up to date in his article in *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, McGraw Hill, vol. 8, 1967, 48-49; see also P. F. Chambers, *Juliana of Norwich: an Introductory Appreciation and an Interpretative Anthology*, New York, Harper, 1955; Paul Molinari, S. J. *Julian of Norwich: the Teachings of a Fourteenth Century Mystic*, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1958; Robert Karl Stone, *Middle English Style; Margery Kempe and Julian of Norwich*, The Hague, Mouton, 1970.

<sup>4</sup> Molinari, *op. cit.*, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Stone, *op. cit.*, 9. A will of 1404 gave "12 d. to Julian and 8 d. to Sara living with her."

<sup>6</sup> An excellent recent narrative and description of the Black Death and its effects is Philip Ziegler's *The Black Death*, New York, Harper, 1969, which offers a full bibliographical guide to the studies on which it is based.

<sup>7</sup> Raymond of Capua describes how he himself, after working with plague victims, discovered that he had developed the well known symptoms, the hard dark swellings in armpits and groin and the high fever. He dragged himself as quickly as he could to Catherine's house and waited for her to come home. When she arrived, she prayed by his side for about half an hour and he felt the disease violently drawn out of him. He was, though still weak, healed. Tinagli, tr. 344.

<sup>8</sup> Chambers, 21.

<sup>9</sup> *Comfortable Words*, 19.

<sup>10</sup> *Revelations*, 123.

<sup>11</sup> *Revelations*, 184. Note that J. Walsh, "Introd." sees the structure of the work as following the sequence of the three "wounds longed for by Julian, which are contrition, compassion, and longing for God." His description, however, more accurately follows the sequence: self-surrender, compassionate suffering, triumph.

<sup>12</sup> *Revelations*, 129-31.

<sup>13</sup> *Revelations*, 186.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. *Dialogue*, 29, "You ask me for suffering to atone for the offenses my creatures commit against me," *God* says to the *Soul*.

<sup>15</sup> *Opere di Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. G. Gigli, Siena, Bonetti, 1707-54, vo. 1, 481-9, letter of Barduccio Canigiani to Sister Caterina Petriboni on the death of Catherine of Siena.

<sup>16</sup> Curtayne, 207.

<sup>17</sup> Reproduced as frontispiece of P. Giacinto D'Urso, O.P., *Il Genio di Santa Caterina—Studi sulla sua dottrina e personalità*, Rome, Edizioni Catheriniane, 1971.

<sup>18</sup> *Dialogue*, 52.

<sup>19</sup> *Revelations*, 191.

<sup>20</sup> *Revelations*, 192.

<sup>21</sup> *Revelations*, 192.

<sup>22</sup> *Revelations*, 193.

<sup>23</sup> *Revelations*, 121.

<sup>24</sup> *Revelations*, 103.

<sup>25</sup> *Revelations*, 246, cf. 138 and 125.

<sup>26</sup> Letter translated in Vida Scudder, tr. *Saint Catherine of Siena as Seen in her Letters*, London, Dutton, 1906, 110-114.

<sup>27</sup> Much more fully explained in the study by Carolyn Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*.

<sup>28</sup> More fully developed by Elizabeth Petroff, *Consolations*, who, like Bynum is persistent in pointing out the eucharistic significance of the imagery and its connection with the desire of the saintly women to have the power of priests. See esp. 73-75.

<sup>29</sup> Bynum, 172.

<sup>30</sup> A. Tralin, ed. and E. Hello, tr. *Le livre des visions et instructions de la bienheureuse Angèle de Foligno*, Paris, 1914, 179-80.

<sup>31</sup> Tinagli, tr. 227.

<sup>32</sup> Hilde Firtel, *Dorothea von Montau*, Freiburg/Schweitz, Kanisius, n.d.

<sup>33</sup> Both arguments appear together, *Dialogue*, 155.

<sup>34</sup> *Revelations*, 113.

<sup>35</sup> *Dialogue*, 134.

<sup>36</sup> *Dialogue*, 147.

<sup>37</sup> *Le livre des visions et instructions*, 125.

<sup>38</sup> Letter of Stefano Maconi to Tommaso Caffarini, *Opere*, I, 461-80.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Fawtier, II, 128-137, 279.

<sup>40</sup> *Comfortable Words*, 110-111.

<sup>41</sup> *Revelations*, 103.

<sup>42</sup> Ernest McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture*, New York, Octagon Books, 1969, 32.

<sup>43</sup> *Comfortable Words*, 41-42.

<sup>44</sup> *Revelations*, 129.

<sup>45</sup> *Comfortable Words*, 86; *Revelations*, 135.

<sup>46</sup> An expression used by Barduccio Canigiani, *Opere*, 485.

<sup>47</sup> Dom Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism*, London, Constable, 1967, (first ed. 1922), 100.

<sup>48</sup> *Revelations*, 125.

<sup>49</sup> *Revelations*, 126.

<sup>50</sup> Evelyn Underhill, *The Essentials of Mysticism*, New York, E. P. Dutton, 1920, 192-193.

<sup>51</sup> *Revelations*, 133.

<sup>52</sup> *Dialogue*, 154.

<sup>53</sup> *Revelations*, 199.

<sup>54</sup> *Revelations*, 200.

<sup>55</sup> *Revelations*, 216-7.

<sup>56</sup> This description of Catherine's death is entirely taken from Barduccio's letter.

<sup>57</sup> *Comfortable Words*, 44.

## KARMA VIPĀKA

Y. KRISHAN

The word *Vipāka*<sup>1</sup> means the ripening, maturing, effect, result, consequences of actions done in the present or former births and pursuing those who commit them through their subsequent existences. In brief it means *Karma phala*, fruits on maturing of actions.

There is wide unanimity in the definition of *Karma Vipāka* in the literature of different Indian religions.

Umāsvāmi (AD 135-219) in *Tattvārtha sūtra*<sup>2</sup> (a Jaina text) 8.21 defines it as *vipāko anubhavaḥ*: *Vipāka* is experiencing. His commentator Pūjyapāda (5th-7th Century AD) in *Sarvārthasiddhi* 8.21 explains: *prāgūpacitanānā prakārakarma vipāko anubhavaḥ*: Experience of previously accumulated *Karmas* of various types is *vipāka*.

The Buddhist *ācārya* Vasubandhu (4th Century AD) in *Abhidharma-kośa*<sup>3</sup> 2.56 defines *vipāka* thus: *vipākaḥ phalamantyasyeḥ pūrvasya adhipatam phalam*: Fruit is the end result of *vipāka*: *vipāka* controls the result.

The *Bodhisattavabhūmi*<sup>4</sup> (4th Century AD) 2.5 of Asanga says: *Yadiṣṭāniṣṭamādīnavānuśānsamyuktam phalamabhinirvartayanti tattesam vipākaḥ*: *Vipāka* means the result produced successively by desired (*iṣṭa*), disliked (*aniṣṭa*), ignoble (*ādīna*) and noble or praiseworthy (*anuśānsamyuktam*) actions.

Buddhaghoṣa (5th Century AD) in the *Visuddhimagga*<sup>5</sup> XIX.17 speaks of *Kammātaraṇ C'eva vipakantaran*: Round of *Karmas* and round of results: from *Karma* came to pass results. Result has *Karma* for its source. *Visuddhimagga* XIX 18 says: *Kamma Vipāka vattanti vipāka kamma sambhavo*: *Vipāka* follows *Karma*: *vipāka* is born of *Karma*. The Brahmanical texts define *Karma vipāka* likewise. Īśvarakṛṣṇa (AD 200) in *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 46 defines *vipāka* as: *dharmaṇa gamanamūrdhvagamanamadhistad bhavatyā adharmeṇa*: Good deeds lead to birth in heaven and bad deeds to birth in hell.

The *Dasapadāratha śāstra*<sup>6</sup> (AD 6th Century) of the Vaiśeṣikas gives a very simple definition: *hita-ahita vipāka*: Ripening of good and evil (which produces pleasure and pain).

Saṃkara<sup>7</sup> (AD 788-820) in his *bhāṣya* on *Brahma sūtra* III.2.38 defines *Vipāka* as: *Yatkālam hi yatsukham dukkham vā ātmanā bhuñjayrī tasmaiva loke phalatvam prasiddham*: When at a time a self experiences pleasure or pain, that is generally known among people as fruition.

*Nyāyakandalī*,<sup>8</sup> (AD 10th Century) a commentary on the *Praśastapāda bhāṣya* on *Vaiśeṣika sūtras* says: *tato dharmādharma tataśca samsārah*: *Karmas* are the womb (*yonī*) of various beings; they mature in various ways with the passage of time into fruits or results.

The doctrine of *Karma Vipāka* was developed by the Buddhists, Jains and Brahmins by relating the type of birth, human and non-human, length of life, happiness and suffering etc experienced as being the consequences of specific acts done by a being in his previous existences. While the destruction of *Karmas* (*Karmanirodha*) and detachment (*vairāgya*) lead to emancipation (*nirvāṇa*) and cessation of transmigration, performance of *Karmas* leads to repeated births in the five or six planes of existence; the duration of life in those planes of existence, the quality of life, such as ill or good health, wealth and poverty, pleasure and pain etc depend upon the maturing of the *Karmas*.

The Buddhist canonical texts (B.C. 3rd-2nd Century) give an exposition of *Karma vipāka*. In the *Majjhmanikāya* 3.35 and *Āṅguttaranikāya* 3.46 it is stated by the Buddha that, after death, bad conduct (*duccaritam*) leads to hell or birth as an animal or a ghost and that good (*Kalyāṇam*) conduct leads to birth in heaven or as a human-being. The *Cūḷa kamma-vibhaṅga-sutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* sets out the retributive rebirths of an individual after death with reference to the quality of his actions in a previous existence; thus a person guilty of violence and destruction of life, is reborn in purgatory or as a short-lived human being, a person guilty of assaults either goes to purgatory or becomes an ailing human being, a miser is born either in hell or as a poor human being etc. The *Vimānavatthu*<sup>9</sup> commentary of Dhammapāla (AD 5th-6th Century) says: "By giving a seat (to a person) one gets a very high position, by bestowing food one secures health and wealth, by the gifts of clothes one acquires good complexion (*varṇa*) and property, the gift of conveyances procures for the giver special happiness and that of lights begets powers of vision, by giving a house one gets all sorts of property." Again the *Pañcatidīpanam*<sup>10</sup> (AD 13-14th Century) says

that among the gods and men and demons, those who are malicious do not live long, but those who are free from malice, attain long life. Those who oppress others by confining and beating them, are subject to leprosy, madness etc. Those who misappropriate property of others and do not make gifts to anybody, cannot earn money even with great efforts. “Those who give stolen wealth to others at first become rich but are afterwards reduced to poverty. Those who acquire wealth by honest means but do not give it to anybody, get wealth with great effort. Those who do not steal wealth and are very charitable obtain wealth which cannot be destroyed by theft etc. Those who offer food daily are long lived, endowed with great beauty, strength, intelligence, health and happiness....Those who always abuse others and are liars are reborn as hunchbacked and dwarfs”.

Likewise those who commit violence, theft, adultery etc., are born in hell and pay for their misdeeds by sufferings in hell and in relatively higher forms of life, that is as plants, birds and animals. As soon as the effects of *Karmas* which cause birth in a particular plane of existence, are exhausted, the being is reborn in other planes, higher or lower, depending upon the quality of the residual *Karmas*: the human plane represents the norm from which a being falls or to which he rises or from which he goes above or to which he falls back.

The religious beliefs regarding *Karma vipāka* are supported by philosophical justification. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*<sup>11</sup> I.7 says: *akuśalānām dharmāṇām apāyeṣu vipāka Kuśalasāsravānām sugatau vipacyate tadvipāka phalam*: Evil deeds (on fruition) bring about evil (calamity, injury, loss), whereas good actions lead to happy birth; this is the fruit of maturing of *Karmas*. Again the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* I.3 distinguishes between *vipāka* (fruition), *vipāka-hetu* (cause of fruition) and *hetu-phalam* (result of *vipāka*). The causes of *vipāka* are all types of actions, violence, non-violence, *dāna* (charity), truthfulness etc.; they produce results in the form of the length of the life span (*āyuh*), caste status (*varṇa*), wealth (*aiśvarya*) etc. These in turn are the results of fruition, *vipāka-phala*.

Sthiramati (AD 5th Century) in para 51 of his *Bhāṣya*<sup>12</sup> on *Vasubandhu's Trīṣṭikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* 3 cites the view of other Buddhist schools about *Karma Vipāka* in these words: *Śubhānām kar-*

*maṇām sukkho anubhavaḥ phalavipākaḥ / Aśubhānām dukkhaḥ*: Good deeds on maturing, lead to experience of happiness as their fruit; evil deeds lead to unhappiness, misery.

The Jaina canonical texts (B.C. 4th-AD 2nd Century) give a parallel exposition of *Karma vipāka*. The *Sūtra kṛtāṅga*<sup>13</sup> 2.1.13 explains human inequalities, noble or lowly birth, beauty & ugliness, success and status in life etc. as due to a person's *Karma*.

Jaina texts (such as *Bhagavati Sūtra* 8.9.9) link specific states of existence with specific *Karmas*, those who indulge in violent deeds, kill creatures, eat flesh etc. are born in hell; deception, fraud, falsehood lead to the birth of the offender as animal and plant; kindness, compassion, humble character lead to birth as a human being; austerity, observance of vows etc lead to birth in heaven.

The *Vipāka Śrutam*<sup>14</sup> sets out *dukkhavipāka* and *sukhavipāka* in ten stories each. The *dukkhavipāka* stories relate the intense sufferings an individual has to undergo in various existences (*bhavas*) for his misdeeds; the results of good deeds are illustrated in *sukhavipāka* stories: specific fruits (suffering and happiness) are related to specific previous misdeeds or good deeds of an individual.

The Jainas made an elaborate classification of *Karmas*: they are of eight types: *jñānāvarṇīya* (obscuring knowledge), *darśanāvarṇīya* (obscuring right faith), *mohanīya* (causing delusion), *vedanīya* (causing pain or pleasure), *āyuh* (*Karma* which determine the life span in planes of existence, heaven, hell etc, on rebirth), *nāma Karma* which determines individuality (species, body etc), *gotra*, the social status and *antarāya* (which is a hindrance to doing good *karma*).<sup>15</sup>

The Jainas also believed that the duration (*sthiti*) or the time for ripening and fruition and the period for which the *Karmas* remain dormant (*abādhākāla*) are different for different classes of acts. Thus the *jñānāvarṇīya karma* have a minimum time span of 48 mts (*muhūrta*) and a maximum of 30 *kodākodī sāgaropamas* (an extremely long period); the period of dormancy (*abādhākāla*) is 30000 years.

The Brahmanical or Hindu law<sup>16</sup> givers (BC 500 to AD 300) deal with the fruition of *karmas* elaborately specifying (i) the various forms of existence in which a *jīva* or living being takes rebirth, such as human being, worm, insect, bird, animal, plant etc, (ii) the diseases with which he might be afflicted such as leprosy, consumption, epilepsy etc. and their duration, (iii) the deformities from

which he might suffer such as being born dumb, deaf, blind, etc, (iv) the status a being occupies in society such as that of a King, Brahmin etc.

The earlier<sup>17</sup> *purāṇas*, (such as *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Matsya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavat* AD 300-600) as pointed by Hazra, deal with *Karma Vipāka*. They deal with it in the same manner as the *Dharmaśāstras* viz. the souls are embodied in different forms of existence due to their deeds; they are born in heaven, hell or on this earth, as a result of their *Karmas*; they suffer various tortures in different hells for their sins done in previous lives; and thereafter they are born as insects, birds, animals, human beings and as gods depending upon the progressive exhaustion of their evil *Karmas* and ripening of their good *Karmas*.<sup>18</sup>

Samkara,<sup>19</sup> in his commentary on *Brahmasūtra* III.1.8, states that the souls of those who perform sacrifices and the like, rise to the sphere of the moon and when they have done with the enjoyment (of the fruits of the works) again descend (to the earth). “Having dwelt there (heaven) they return again that way as they came”. Those whose conduct has been good obtain good birth of a Brahmin etc. Those whose conduct has been evil obtain the birth of a dog etc’.

The doctrine of *Karma vipāka* is a natural and apparently logical development of the basic law of *Karma*; it deals with the mechanism of operation of the law and specifies specific punishments and rewards for particular evil and good deeds. It is in the nature of a penal-cum-procedure code. But a critical examination of *Karma vipāka* reveals many unsatisfactory features which makes the operation of the law of *Karma* either arbitrary or mysterious; it unmasks the deceptive logic of the moral law of *Karma*. This would be amply evident from the many questions it leaves unanswered:

- (i) What is the time lag between the commission of a moral action, *Karma*, and the ripening of its results? In other words, how much time does a *Karma* take to ripen? Is the time lag uniform or does it vary in respect of different *Karmas*? Only the Jainas attempted to lay down the life span of each type of *Karma*. But the concept of time lag also introduces the paradox of evil doers flourishing and guilty men enjoying the ill-gotten

gains and good men and good doers and innocent men suffering in the world of experience and reality.

- (ii) Does each *Karma* fructify separately by itself or are the potential effects of various *Karmas* amalgamated into a composite *Karma* or *Karmas* producing one or more results? If the *Karmas* are amalgamated, do good (*Kuśala*, *puṇya sukṛta*) *Karmas* and (*akuśala pāpa*, *duṣkṛta*) *Karmas* combine or amalgamate only with *Karmas* of identical character or also with *Karmas* of opposite class or type?
- (iii) In case the *Karmas* combine or *amalgamate* to yield a resultant *Karma*, does it mean that good and evil *Karmas* can neutralise each other partially or wholly?
- (iv) What is the role of *puruṣāratha* human effort, in the fulfilment of *Karmas*? Do the *Karmas* remain unproductive if there is no effort?

These problems appeared to have exercised the minds of Indian thinkers, though they did not and could not provide adequate answers. They suffer from ambiguity and contradictions. Here also their unanimity ends.

Regarding the time within which the *Karmas* fructify, the *Majjhimanikāya* 1.373 says: The fruit of a deed is threefold, it may arise here and now, or later in a succession of lives.

About the interaction of different *Karmas*, in the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya*<sup>20</sup> 2.20 it is said that the ease and pain measured out as it were with a measure cannot be altered in the course of transmigration; there can neither be increase nor decrease thereof, neither excess nor deficiency. In other words, good and evil deeds bear their own results. The story of the death of Moggallāna as narrated in *Milindapañha*<sup>21</sup> 4.4.1 and in Buddhaghosa's commentary<sup>22</sup> on *Dhammapada* 137 emphasises that good and bad actions are independent and do not balance against one another.

The *Ānguttaranikāya*<sup>23</sup> 3.10.99 on the other hand, strikes a different note in explaining the disparity in the results of *Karmas*. It discusses the cases of two individuals who have done the same deed but with entirely different consequences: one who does some slight deed of wickedness (*appamattakam*) goes to hell (*nirayam*); another individual who does the same slight deed of wickedness and expiates it in present life (*ttādi samyeva*, which is to be experienced in this very life) treating it as serious, is saved from hell.

The Buddha explains this apparent disparity—inequality before law—on the basis of an analogy: a certain quantity of salt added to a cup of water makes that water undrinkable; but the same quantity of salt added to the waters of a big river like the Gaṅgā will produce no effect on its drinkable quality. The Buddha goes on to cite the cases of two persons who may suffer vastly different punishments for an identical offence. He says: “We may have.....the case of one who is cast into prison for a halfpenny, for a penny, or for a hundred pence or.....we may have the case of one who is not cast into prison for a halfpenny, for a penny, or for a hundred pence”. The Buddha explains: “Whenever.....anyone is poor, needy, and indigent, he.....is cast into prison for a halfpenny, for a penny, or for a hundred pence”. “Whenever.....anyone is rich, wealthy and affluent, he is not cast into prison for a halfpenny, for a penny, or for a hundred pence”. The Buddha concludes “.....if any one were to say that a man must reap according to his deeds, in that case.....there is no religious life, nor is any opportunity afforded for the entire extinction of misery. But if.....the reward a man reaps accords with his deeds, in that case.....there is a religious life and opportunity is afforded for the entire extinction of misery”.

Again as regards the relative strength of *Kuśala* (good) and *akuśala* (evil) deeds, the Buddhists hold that the former are more powerful than the latter. *Milinda pañha* 3.7.7 says that *Kuśala* is the greater, demerit is a trifle. It is explained that a man who does a wrong feels remorse later and so demerit does not increase whereas merit increases gladness, joy etc and hence it increases merit. Again *Milinda* 4.8.24-29 explains that evil *Karma* has limited potentiality and therefore matures quickly whereas good *Karma* is vast (*vipula*) and matures in a long period of time: “Vice by its meanness dies quickly away. But virtue by reason of its grandeur, takes long time to die”. Consequently whereas, generally speaking, both good and evil deeds fructify in subsequent lives of an individual, evil deeds may fructify in this life itself.

The belief of Buddhists in the transference of merit, *puṇya pariṇamā*, that is, the benefit of good deeds done by an individual can be donated to or transferred to another, was another factor which could seriously interfere with the *vipāka* process and distort the fruit to be realised for specific acts.

It would be evident from the foregoing evidence that there were inner contradictions as to the manner in which *Karma* fulfils itself; on the one hand, each deed works out its own fulfilment, and good and bad deeds cannot be balanced; on the other hand, the texts maintain that good or evil acts can be neutralised by the mass of evil or good deeds. More significantly the *Aṅguttaranikāya* makes a laboured effort to explain the disparity in the consequences faced by different individuals for the same deed. Again it is manifestly unfair that the gravity of an offence should be dependent upon the doer's capacity and resources. A poor man may be driven by sheer necessity to commit theft but it is evidently preposterous that he should go to hell for the offence whereas a rich man, who may have had no economic compulsions to commit theft, be let off lightly.

The fluid nature of the doctrine of *Karma Vipāka* in Buddhism becomes clear from its analysis of the time for fruition of *Karmas* and the nature of the energy, productive or destructive, generated by them.

*Majjhima nikaya* 1.373, we have noticed earlier, makes an indefinite statement: "The fruit of a deed is threefold, it may arise here and now, or later or in a succession of lives".

As Harivarman in the *Satyasiddhiśāstra*<sup>24</sup> (AD 2nd-3rd Century) 100 elaborates: *Kiñcitkarma niyatavipākam*, *Kiñcidaniyata vipākam*, *kiñcidauttamam madhyamamadhamam dṛṣṭadharmavipākamupapdhya vipākam taduttara vipākam*: Certain action definitely matures, the maturing of others is uncertain or indeterminate; certain actions bear excellent fruit, other middling and low fruits; certain *Karmas* fruitify in this very world (in which they are done), certain in the next world and others in distant future.

The *Visuddhimagga*<sup>25</sup> XIX and the *Dhammamattasāṅgaha*<sup>26</sup> (AD: 12th Century) V.8 distinguish respectively 12 and 16 different kinds of *Karmas* and their fruits. Of these, 8 types of *Karmas*<sup>27</sup> and their fruition have relevance for us. These are:

- (a) those which fructify with elapse of time;
- (b) productive or positive and destructive or negative *Karmas*.

The following *Karmas* belong to the first category:

- (i) *Karmas* which bear fruit in the present life;
- (ii) *Karmas* which bear fruit in rebirth or next life;
- (iii) *Karmas* which bear fruit at no fixed time;

(iv) Bygone *Karmas* or *Karma* which has been, *ahosi Kamman*.

This *Karma* does not bear fruit.

The texts do not specify the *Karmas* which will bear fruit in this life or in the life hereafter or at an unascertainable time in future.

The same *Karmas* are also classified according to their nature:

- (i) productive or reproductive *Karmas* (*Janaka Karma*);
- (ii) supportive or maintaining *Karma* (*utthanbhaka*). This *Karma* does not fructify by itself; it helps to make productive *Karmas* more effective;
- (iii) counteractive or unfavourable *Karma* (*upapīḍaka*). This *Karma* obstructs or nullifies or neutralises productive or destructive *Karmas*;
- (iv) destructive *Karma* (*upaghātaka*); it destroys or suppresses or inhibits the fruition of other *Karmas*.

Here again, the texts do not indicate the criteria for classifying the various *Karmas* as productive, supportive, destructive or counteractive. In fact as Sthiramati in para 159 of his *Bhāṣya* on *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* 19 observes: *na hi karma vidyamānapi kleṣeṣu prahīṇeṣu sahakārikāraṇābhāvāt punarbhavamabhinīrvartayitum samartham*: Even if the *Karma* is present, it is not able to lead to rebirth due to the absence of related or associated factors.

The doctrine of *Karma Vipāka* in Jainism also suffers from same impreciseness and confusion as in the sister philosophical and religious schools. The Jainas believe that the *Karmas* of the same kind such as *Jñānāvarṇīya* or *vedanīya* or *nāma* or *gotra Karman* combine with their own kind but not with another. This is what *Pūjyapāda* in the commentary *Sarvārthasiddhi* on *Tattvārthasūtra* 8.22 and 23 says: *prasamkhyātoanbhūvata* (22) *sa yathā nāma* (23): (A person) experiences the sum total (of his *Karmas*) and this adding up takes place in accordance with their classes or kinds.<sup>28</sup> This is consistent with their view that different kinds of *Karmas* are of different durations including the period in which they remain dormant. Further *Pūjyapāda* in his commentary on the *Sūtra* 9.36 says; *Karmas* fructify and are exhausted provided the place, time, environment etc are appropriate.

Again in Jainism good and evil *Karmas* are distinct and separate. As *Sthānāṅga sūtra* (an early canonical text) 11 & 12 says: *ege puṇṇe ege pāve*: *puṇya* (good action) is one, *pāpa* (evil action) is another. There is no off-setting of good and evil *Karmas*.

Again at the time of a new *Karma bandha* (bondage), the *Karma* particles binding the soul affect the duration (*sthiti*) and intensity (*anubhāga*) of the earlier *Karma* bonds.

An important factor that has had a powerful bearing on the *Karma-vipāka* in Jaina thought is *tapas*, austerities. The Jainas maintain that *Karmas* can be consciously and prematurely matured and thus shed (*nirjarā*) through physical mortification and mental repentance. Through *tapas*, the dormant *Karmas* are made to arise (*udaya*) and eventually fructify (*udīraṇā*). In the result the time and intensity of *Karma Vipāka* is indeterminate. Again some *Karmas* are *dhruvodaya*, whose fruition after elapse of time is certain and automatic, while others are *adhruvodaya*, whose time of fruition is uncertain.

The Brahmanical texts also confess that the time for the fruition of *Karmas* is uncertain and allude to neutralisation of evil *Karmas* by the dominant good *Karmas* and vice versa. The *Bhagavadgītā* (BC 500-200) XVIII 12 says that the fruit or result of good (*iṣṭa*), bad (*aniṣṭa*) and mixed (*miṣṭa*) *Karmas* is reaped in the life hereafter.

The *Yogaśāstra*<sup>29</sup> (BC 100-AD 300) classifies *Karmas* into two groups with reference to the time when they mature and the period of time after which they mature. Firstly those which bear fruit in this life-time: *dr̥ṣṭajanmavedanīya*—determinate, and those whose maturation takes place in life or lives hereafter at a point of time which cannot be determined or predicted beforehand, *adr̥ṣṭajanmavedanīya*—(indeterminate). To quote *Yogasūtra* ii. 12: “The latent deposit of *Karmas* (*Karmāśaya*) has its root in the hindrances (*Kleṣas*)—*avidyā* (ignorance) *ahaṁkāra* (egoism), *rāga* (passion or attachment), *dveṣa* (aversion, dislike, ill will) and *abhiniveśa* (will to live), and may fructify and be felt in a birth seen (*dr̥ṣṭajñma-vedanīya*) or in a birth unseen (*adr̥ṣṭajñma-vedanīya*)”. Veda Vyāsa (AD 400) in his *bhāṣya* explains that *Karmāśayas* ripen or become *vipāka* in this life itself due to intense austerities (*tapas*), concentration (*dhyāna*) or devotion to the lord (*Īśvara*). Again *Karmāśayas* ripen quickly in respect of evil results if a person treats another person with contempt, when he is terrorised, sick and wretched or is undergoing penance (*tapas*). Secondly *Yogasūtra* iii. 22 refers to *upakrama* (advancing, quickly maturing) and *nirūpakrama* (non-advancing, slowly

maturing) *Karmas*. There is no actual identification of *Karmas* conforming to these classes.

Udyotakara (AD 7th Century) in *Nyāyavārttika* 3.2.61 describes *vipāka* as *pūrvakṛtam vipākakāla aniyamat ihāmūrta jatyantrē*, indeterminate regarding the time of fruition of previous actions in this existence, in the next life or world or in future births. The previous *Karmas* give fruit only when the time is appropriate and give fruit when the remaining related factors are present and there are no adverse factors.

Jayanta in *Nyāyamañjari* (AD 880) maintains that the time for the fruition of *vihiṭa* (prescribed) *Karmas* cannot be settled: they mature at different times: (i) some fructify immediately e.g. *yajñas* for rain, (ii) some fructify after the elapse of time e.g. *putreṣṭi yajña*, sacrifice for the birth of a son, and (iii) some fructify in heaven e.g. *jyotiṣṭoma*. According to Jayanta *niṣiddha* or prohibited *Karmas* fructify in the next world.

Manu (B.C. 200-AD 100) in his *Smṛti* XII 20-21 introduces the concept of balancing of good and evil, credit and debit. He says: “If he had done greater good than evil in life, he should enjoy the pleasures of paradise” and “If he had done greater evil than good in his life, he should suffer pangs of *yama*”—*yamayātanā*.

The *Yogasūtra bhāṣya* ii.13 says that the *Karmāśayas* (latent deposits of different *Karmas*, both *Kuśala*, meritorious, and *akuśala*, demeritorious) get amalgamated into the single impulse (*ekapraghaṭṭakena*) or rolled together into one lump (*saṁmūrchita*) and thereafter it fructifies. This single impulse manifests itself in two phases, in this life with the three fruits or results viz. type of birth (*jāti*), length of life (*āyuh*) and experience (*bhoga*, pleasure and pain) and in rebirth hereafter. The former which manifests itself within a determinate time is the dominant *Karma* impulse, whereas the *Karma* which ripens in an indeterminate time is called subordinate: the dominant *Karma* fruitifies immediately, the subordinate *Karmas* give result after some delay. Veda Vyāsa specifically avers that “A single mass (*saṁūhin*) made of merit destroys evil (mass)”. Udyotakara maintains that the fruition of *Karmas* can be arrested through the intensity of maturing *Karmas*. Vācaspati Miśra (AD 9th Century) states that a single mass made of merit (*śukla Karma*) is more powerful than dark (*Kṛṣṇa*) and dark-bright (*Kṛṣṇa śukla*)

latent deposits, hence destroys the latter. The subordinate *Karma* is exhausted through maturation over a period of time, or by being 'cast' into dominant *Karma*.

Samkara<sup>30</sup> in his *bhāṣya* on *Brahmasūtra* III.2.38 while maintaining that the lord of all (*sarvādhyaṣaḥ*) causes the fruition of *Karmas* (*Karmānurūpamphalam*), yet has to take into account the difference of place and time (*deśa* and *kāla*).

The role of *Kāla* (Time) and of *puruṣāratha* (human effort) as set out in the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*) (BC 5th-AD 4th Century) reveals the doubts and reservations in the minds of Brahmanical scholars about the precise manner in which *Karmas* fructify. The relevant *parvas* XII & XIII are later additions to the original epic.

The *Mbh* XII 224.32.33.45 & 54 poses the question: a good man born in a good family is seen to suffer, while a bad man born in a low family is seen to lead a life of happiness. This is attributed to *Kāla* (Time) which brings about ups and downs in life. *Mbh*. XII 33.19 says that *Kāla* is the witness, that is proof, of the good and evil deeds of beings: *Karma sūtrātmakam vidhi sākṣīnām śubhaṣāpayo*.

*Mbh*. XII 3.22 makes *Kāla* and not *Karma* as the causative force. "Just as an instrument is under the control of the blacksmith, likewise *Karmas* through the agency of *Kāla*, Time, endow universe with life". *Karmaṇā Kālayuktena tathen ceṣṭate jagat*.

The *Mahābhārata* also identifies *daiva* or destiny with previously accumulated *Karmas* and discusses the relative role of *daiva* and *puruṣāratha*. *Mbh*. XIII 6.7 says: "Just as seeds remain barren unless sown in a field, likewise destiny or fate or past *Karmas* cannot achieve anything without human effort". *Mbh* XIII 6.22 says: *Kṛtaḥ puruṣkārastu daivamavanuvartate na daivamkṛte Kiñcit kasyacid*: Human effort follows destiny or fate (*daiva*), that is, destiny is moulded by human effort. Without effort, *daiva* or destiny cannot give anything to anyone). *Mbh*. XIII 6.4.7 observes: *na ca phalati vikrama jīva loke na daivam*. *Vyapanayati vimārgam nāsti daiva prabhutvam*: In this human world, those who do not make effort cannot succeed or prosper: *daiva* or destiny is not powerful that it can make a person give up the wrong path. In the same verse it is said: *nayati puruṣkārāḥ sarvācitra tatra*: it is accumulated human effort that takes a human being here and there.

The *Vaiṣṇavadharmaṣarva* of the *Mbh* XIII 6.28, XIV 92 also emphasises that any actions done previously may be rendered ineffective by

- (i) intense human effort *Mbh* XIII 6.28;
- (ii) by *sandhyā* prayers *Mbh*. XIII;
- (iii) by *tapas* (austerities), *yajña karma* (sacrifices) and *dāna* charity (*Mbh*. XII 35.1 & XII 35.41);
- (iv) by *bhakti* (devotion) *Mbh* XIV 92). It is also averred *Mbh* XIII that an excellent good action or a serious evil deed can destroy quickly a minor evil or a minor good deed.

*Caraka Samhita* (AD 4th Century) III (*Vimānasthāna*) 333 avers: Weak *daiva* (destiny) is subdued by human effort (*puruṣkāra*); likewise human effort (*karma*) is subdued by powerful *daiva*.

It would be evident from the above that *Karma vipāka* is dependent upon *Kāla* and *puruṣāratha*; it is not automatic either in this life or in the life hereafter. Does it mean that in the absence of *puruṣāratha*, human effort, a person will not experience the results of his good & evil deeds of previous lives?

To sum up (a) The Buddhists held (i) that each *Karma* fructifies independently, (ii) that an identical *Karma* may yield different fruits to different individuals depending upon the respective stocks of *Karmas* and the intensity of repentance for any misdeed, (iii) that good deeds are more powerful and longer lasting than evil deeds but they take long time to mature whereas evil deeds fructify quickly, (iv) some *Karmas* have greater energy potential, being productive or destructive, while others are only supportive or counteractive, (v) good *Karmas* are transferable, (vi) the time of fruition of *Karmas* is really indeterminable as the *Karmas* which bear fruit in this life or next life were left unspecified.

(b) The Jaina view point is materially similar. They hold that only the basic or fundamental *Karma* types or their derivatives are amalgamated producing a resultant *Karma* of particular type or class though the scope for conversion of a derived *Karma* into another derived *Karma* of the same basic class is limited; that good and evil do not cancel or neutralise each other consistent with their belief in the inescapable and inexorable nature of *Karmas*. Jainism is also distinguished by the belief that *tapas* or bodily mortification can

prematurely and consciously exhaust the accumulated *Karmas* and thereby alter the normal operation of *Karma vipāka*.

(c) The Brahmanical texts postulate that (i) evil *Karmas* fructify quicker than good *Karmas*, (ii) the maturing of *Karmas* can be hastened through special practices, (iii) the good and evil *Karmas* are amalgamated and only the resultant *Karma*, depending upon the relative 'mass' of good and evil *Karma*, bears fruit. This implies mutual neutralisation and reinforcement of the potential of *Karmas*. (iv) The dominant *Karmas* are experienced in the life in which they are committed whereas the 'subordinate' *Karmas*, whose fructification is indeterminate, mature slowly. The dominant *Karmas* determine the type of birth and length of life and may also produce happiness or unhappiness. The subordinate *Karmas*, however, bring about states of happiness or unhappiness only. (v) *Karmas* ripen only when other related factors like time (*Kāla*), place etc are suitable or congenial. (vi) *Karmas* do not fructify by themselves; for making them bear fruit, *puruṣāratha*, human effort is required. In other words mere good *Karma* is not enough, human effort is essential for obtaining the fruit of one's past *Karmas*.

It would be abundantly clear that *Karma vipāka* was a very fluid, nay nebulous, concept. The doctrine of *Karma* at the macro level was a very lofty concept providing a most rational explanation of inequality and suffering in life and a most powerful *raison d'être* for ethical discipline. But at the micro level, the doctrine of *Karma vipāka* exposed its serious limitations: when and how do *Karmas* mature, do they mature severally or collectively and do good and evil *Karmas* react on one another? Is human effort an essential condition for maturing of past *Karmas*? Are *Karmas* matured prematurely through *tapas*? It reduced the doctrine of *Karma* from a law of moral causation to a theorem, an *ipse dixit*.

No wonder that the *Bhagavadgītā* IV.17 proclaimed: *gahanā karmaṇo gatiḥ*: the working of *Karma* is mysterious; Nyāyavaiśeṣikas called *Karma* as *adr̥ṣṭa*. *Veda Vyāsa* in *Yogabhāṣya* ii,13 says that *Karma* is mysterious and not easily discernible; Udyotakara *ibid* 3.261 admits that the operation of *Karmas* is incomprehensible and cannot be determined by human beings in advance. Vācaspati Miśra in *Tattvavaiśārādī* emphasises: "even a very clever man could not determine the order of results". *Milindapañha* 4.4.1 calls *Karma*

*vipāka* as *acintyā* unthinkable. Haribhadrāsūri in *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* 91 & 107 considers, *inter alia*, *adrṣṭa* and *Karma* as synonyms.

The *Vasantarāja Śākunam* (AD 12th Century) 17 sums up succinctly: “Here there is no rule by which people’s previous *Karma* produces particular effects under the influence of place and time. What indeed is the relation between those two things which are not immediately connected”?

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<sup>1</sup> Monier Williams: *Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tattvārthasūtra* of Vācaka Umāsvāti (tr) K. K. Dixit, Ahmedabad 1974, and *Sarvārthasiddhi* or Pūjyapāda (ed. & tr) by Phool Chandra Jain, Bharatiya Jnanapeeth. An earlier *Sūtra* 2.45 uses the word *upabhoga* in the sense of experiencing the consequences of accumulated *Karmas*.

<sup>3</sup> Rahula Sankritayana (ed) *Abhidharma Kośa* of Vasubandhu, Varanasi 1931.

<sup>4</sup> N. Dutt (ed) *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Patna 1966.

<sup>5</sup> P. Maung Tin: *The Path of Purity*, P.T.S. 1931.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in H. Ui: *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, London 1917, p. 218 Note 21. It is preserved in Chinese.

<sup>7</sup> K. L. Joshi (ed) *Brahmasūtra Samkara Bhāṣya*, Delhi 1981 Vol. II & G. Thibaut’s translation of *Vedāntasūtra*, SBE Vol. XXXVIII, Delhi 1962 (reprint).

<sup>8</sup> *Prāśastapādabhāṣya* with commentary *Nyāyakandali* of Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, Varanasi 1963, p. 676.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by B. C. Law: *Heaven & Hell in Buddhist Perspective*, Delhi 1973 (reprint), p. 86.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted by B. C. Law: *ibid*, pp. 19-21.

<sup>11</sup> N. Dutt: *ibid*, p. 72.

<sup>12</sup> Ramshankar Tripathi and Thubten Chogdup (ed & tr) *Trinśikā Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, with the *Bhāṣya* of Sthirmati, Varanasi 1972.

<sup>13</sup> H. Jacobi: *The Jaina Sūtras*, SBE Vol. XLV, London 1895.

<sup>14</sup> Gyan Chand: *Vipāka sūtram (Śrutam)*, Ludhiana 1952.

<sup>15</sup> Each of these types of *Karmas* is further subdivided. Again some *karmas* fructify in the process of transmigration (*vigrahagati*), some fructify in this life and others in various existences (*bhavas*).

<sup>16</sup> *Vaśiṣṭha* (B.C. 500-300) XX 43-44; *Manu* (B.C. 200-AD 100) XI.48-53, XII 32-72; *Yājñavalkya* (AD 100-300) III 131, III 206-21; *Viṣṇu* XLIII 23-45; XLIV 1-45 and XLV 1-33.

<sup>17</sup> R. C. Hazra: *Puranic Record on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Dacca 1940.

<sup>18</sup> Regarding the *Purāṇas* dealing with the subject, see *Vāyu* 101.115-145, 175-192; *Brahmānda* Pt. III 4.2 145-191; *Mārkaṇḍeya* XI 22-25, XII, XIV 16-18 XIV 23-31, 37-95, XV; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* II 6-1-10, 32; *Bhāgavat* 3.30. 4,5, 20-27, 32; 3.31, 43, 3.32, 3-4; 5.26. 3 & 37; 7.13-23-241; *Agni* 352. Among the late *purāṇas* *Garuḍa* II.32.72-80, 125-126; *Brahmavaivarta* XXVI 11-31, XXIX 1-6; *Vāmana* 12.

<sup>19</sup> G. Thibaut: *ibid*.

<sup>20</sup> See also Rhys Davids: *The Dialogues of the Buddha*, S.B.E., PTS 1899, Vol. I, Text II.54.

<sup>21</sup> I. B. Horner: *Milinda Questions*, P.T.S. 1963, Vol. I, p. 268 fn 2. *Milindapañha* is dated to AD 1 Century. But Chapters IV to VII are late additions. See M. Winternitz: *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta 1933, pp. 175-77.

<sup>22</sup> H. C. Warren: *Buddhism in Translations*, New York 1963, pp. 221-226.

<sup>23</sup> See also Warren: *ibid*, pp. 218-221.

<sup>24</sup> N. Aiyaswami Sastri (ed & tr) *Satyasiddhi Śāstra*, Oriental Institute Baroda, 1975.

<sup>25</sup> H. C. Warren: *ibid*, p. 245-46; P. Maung Tin: *The Path of Purity*, P.T.S. 1931.

<sup>26</sup> S. Z. Aung: *Compendium of Philosophy*, P.T.S. 1910.

<sup>27</sup> Other classifications of *Karmas* are: (x) Weighy *Karma*, proximate *Karma*, chronic *Karma* & outstanding *Karma*; (y) Bad *Karma*, Good *Karma* in *Kāmaloka*. Good *Karma* in *Rūpaloka* and Good *Karma* in *Arūpaloka*. The latter are enumerated by *Dhammamattahasangaha*.

<sup>28</sup> As Sukhlalji in his commentary on the *Tattvārthasūtra* points out that an *anubhava* yields fruit in conformity to the nature of that very *Karma* in which it itself resides—not in conformity to the nature of any other *Karmas*. For example, the *anubhava* residing in *jñānavāṛṇīya Karma* yields a more or less intense fruit in conformity to the nature of this *Karma* type, that it performs the task of concealing *jñāna*; on the other hand it does not yield fruit in conformity to the nature of other *Karma*—types like *darsanāvāṛṇīya*, *vedanīya* etc.; the rule of *anubhāvabandha*, according to which fruit is yielded in conformity to the nature of the *Karma* concerned applied only to the derivate ones. It is possible to convert a derivate *Karma* type belonging to same basic *Karma* type by mental exertion. For example *matijñānāvāṛṇa* may be converted into a collateral derivate *śrutijñānāvāṛṇa*. Even among the derivative *Karma*-types, there are such as do not get converted into one another. For example *darsanamoha* does not get converted into *caritramoha* or vice-versa; similarly *nāraka-āyus* does not get converted into *tiryak-āyus* or any other type of *āyus*.

<sup>29</sup> J. H. Woods: *The Yoga System of Pātañjali*, Delhi 1977 (reprint) with the *Yogabhāṣya* of Veda Vyāsa and explanation *Tattvavaiśārādī* of Vācaspati Miśra.

<sup>30</sup> G. Thibaut (tr) *Vedānta Sūtras* with *Samkarabhāṣya*, S.B.E. XLII, New Delhi 1965.

## PROBLEMS OF CENTRAL ASIAN AND SIBERIAN SHAMANISM

MANABU WAIDA

The three decades after 1951 have been a very significant era in the modern history of studies in shamanism. It is true that few ethnographical materials have come out with the notable exception, perhaps, of *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*,<sup>1</sup> but the period in question has seen the publication of a series of important theoretical works which have explored the history and the structure of shamanism, more particularly, the Central Asian and Siberian shamanism that has been generally considered its “classical” form. In 1951, for instance, Mircea Eliade published his magnificent work *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l’extase*.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime, Wilhelm Schmidt had completed his studies on the shamanism of the pastoral peoples of Central Asia and Siberia in the last four volumes of his monumental work *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (1949, 1952, 1954, 1955). Especially important is the twelfth and last volume, published posthumously, which contains a “Synthese der Schamanismen der innerasiatischen Hirtenvölker” (pp. 617-759). Eliade and Schmidt are extremely divergent in their interpretations of the history and the structure of shamanism in Central and North Asia, but, one may say with the advantage of hindsight that they have solidly laid the groundwork for the further inquiry to be made in the subsequent decades by ethnologists and historians of religions.<sup>3</sup> In the course of time, two problems have emerged as major issues of basic importance. The first of the problems is the so-called “white” shamanism and the so-called “black” shamanism, and the other is the phenomenon of ecstasy in the state of which the shaman is believed to set out for the spiritual journey to the world beyond. In the following pages I propose first to outline these basic issues with special reference to the works of Eliade and Schmidt, and then I wish to suggest a path towards an improved understanding of Siberian shamanism and shamanic ecstasy. In this regard, closer attention will be paid to the intimate relationship

that exists between the phenomenon of shamanic ecstasy and the belief in a variety of spirits.

It might be mentioned, parenthetically, that studies of shamanism are no longer inclined to refer to this religious phenomenon as a product of mental disease. Until 1945, a large group of scholars—with a few exceptions such as Sergei M. Shirokogoroff and Uno Harva—was of the opinion that shamanism, more particularly, the Siberian form of shamanism, is a psycho-pathological phenomenon peculiar to the Arctic and sub-Arctic zone, and that the shaman is a sick person of psychopathological type, suffering from “arctic hysteria.”<sup>4</sup> This view has, generally speaking, been rejected. The majority of students now maintain that psychic illness as such does not play any decisive role in the religious phenomenon of shamanism.<sup>5</sup> The crucial point is that, if we borrow Eliade’s succinct expression, “the shaman is not only a sick man; he is, above all, a sick man who has been cured, who has succeeded in curing himself.”<sup>6</sup> In sharp contrast to a large number of ethnologists prior to 1945, Eliade has insisted on interpreting the apparently pathological symptoms of the future shaman in terms of *initiatory trials*, which he is destined to undergo in order to become a “new being.” The initiate suffers, but the suffering is for him something to be conquered. There will be some who will fail in the process, and others who will pass through it triumphantly. But, only those who have accepted the suffering as a spiritual crisis and conquered it are able to become “new beings,” that is, strong shamans.

#### *White Shamanism versus Black Shamanism*

Ethnologists and historians of religions had long been well acquainted with the fact that there are two types of shamans, white and black, but it was not until the publication of Eliade’s *Le Chamanisme* and Schmidt’s *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, XII, that this old problem became a major issue in the modern study of shamanism.<sup>7</sup> Both Eliade and Schmidt recognize the distinction that exists between two types of shamanism: white and black. And they define these two types generally in the same terms; white shamanism is characterized by the ecstatic heavenward journey of

the shaman, who is concerned with the (benevolent) gods and spirits of the heavenly zones, whereas black shamanism is marked by possession and the journey towards the underworld, in other words, the black shaman in the state of possession travels to the underworld, and even to the land of the dead, and he deals with the subterranean (evil) spirits.<sup>8</sup>

However, Eliade and Schmidt have arrived at very different conclusions about the structure and the history of these Central Asian and Siberian forms of shamanism. According to Eliade, it is white shamanism that is the genuine and classical form of shamanism, and what is essential and constitutive for the structure of this white shamanism is the shaman's ecstatic journey to the heavens.<sup>9</sup> White shamanism is also historically the original form of shamanism although it has tended to lose its purity in the course of time due to the addition of various elements extraneous to it. In Eliade's view, white shamanism has been best preserved in Central Asia and Siberia but, even there, it is not the only one form of shamanism that exists; there is another form, that is, black shamanism. According to him, this black shamanism cannot be viewed as a genuine form of shamanism. It is true that there is a factor in black shamanism which might convince us of its authentic nature, for instance, the spiritual journey to the beyond, particularly, the journey to the underworld. But, this specific element of the ecstatic journey to the beyond has probably been borrowed from white shamanism.<sup>10</sup> And many other components constituting black shamanism are not indigenous to Central Asia and Siberia but, historically speaking, have come from the south. These components include, for instance, the ancestor cult, the belief in guardian spirits, the mystique of woman associated with lunar mythology, "matriarchy," and female shamans, and especially the theory and practice of magic and possession.<sup>11</sup> For Eliade, shamanism is a genuine religious phenomenon, but not an independent religion; it coexists with other forms of magic and religion.<sup>12</sup>

In sharp contrast to Eliade, Schmidt views black shamanism as the genuine form of shamanism; for him, the so-called white shamanism is nothing other than the response of a pastoral culture to black shamanism which has come from the matriarchally oriented agrarian culture of the south.<sup>13</sup> In Schmidt's opinion, and

here Eliade would agree with him, the religious orientation of the pastoral peoples in Central Asia is essentially different from that of southern agrarian culture; the religion of the pastoral peoples is basically a sky religion and associated with the religious values of the sky and the celestial Supreme Beings, whereas the religious ideology of southern agrarian culture centers around the religious values of the earth, the woman (and/or mother), the ancestor, and the underworld. Schmidt holds that one of the major features characterizing this matriarchally oriented agrarian culture of the south is black shamanism with its phenomenon of possession. For many years he had asserted that black shamanism invaded Central Asia and even the Arctic from the land of Tibet, but shortly before his death he modified his view and redefined its original homeland more broadly as Southeast Asia.<sup>14</sup> When this black shamanism moved northwards and challenged the religion of the sky, the peoples reacted to it with the creation of white shamanism. Schmidt maintains that shamanism, whether black or white, is not an independent religion,<sup>15</sup> and on this point his view coincides with that of Eliade. However, Schmidt insists on this for a somewhat different reason: the pastoral peoples in Central Asia had originally enjoyed a pure religion accompanied by the belief in the celestial Supreme Being and its practice.<sup>16</sup> It is shamanism, in his opinion, that has damaged and weakened this primeval purity of the religion of the Central Asian peoples.<sup>17</sup> Obviously, black shamanism had initially nothing to do with the religion of Central Asia, but even white shamanism is for Schmidt a “degenerated” religious phenomenon, which came into existence as the reaction of a pastoral culture to an invasion of black shamanism. This view of white shamanism is remarkably different from that of Eliade, who sees in it the genuine, authentic religious phenomenon characterized by the element of ecstasy, which he claims is a “primary phenomenon” without history.<sup>18</sup>

The difference in interpretation between Eliade and Schmidt is mainly due to the different ways in which they evaluate the structure and the history of white and black shamanism. It may be noted, however, that their interpretative differences are further conditioned by their theoretical or ideological frameworks. As far as Eliade’s view of shamanism is concerned, it is definitely colored by

what might be called the ideology of the nostalgia for the primeval paradisaal era. To put it briefly, in the beginning of mythical time there existed a paradisaal era when communications between heaven and earth were possible. At that time, which Eliade is fond of calling *in illo tempore*, the divine beings (gods and mythical ancestors) descended onto earth freely to mingle with humans, and humans ascended to heaven easily by means of a rope, a ladder, or even with the aid of a chain of arrows. Everyone lived in happiness, and mankind lived in blessed peace with animals, talking with them in the "language of animals." But at a certain moment, due to a ceremonial mistake or similar happenings, these communication-lines between the two cosmic zones were cut and the paradisaal era came to an end. And yet, the nostalgia for the lost paradisaal era continues to haunt the religious mind of many peoples, as documented in myths, rituals, and folklore. According to Eliade, the lost paradisaal era can be restored to the present only by a certain group of religious specialists such as shamans, mystics, or sacred kings even if it is impossible for ordinary persons. "The shamanic ecstasy," Eliade writes, "could be considered a reactualization of the mythical *illud tempus* when men could communicate *in concreto* with the sky. It is indubitable that the celestial ascent of the shaman ... is a survival, profoundly modified and sometimes degenerated, of this archaic religious ideology centered on faith in a celestial Supreme Being and belief in concrete communications between heaven and earth."<sup>19</sup> This ideology, which permeates many of Eliade's works,<sup>20</sup> is also dominant in his *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, influencing his interpretation of shamanic ceremonies in Central Asia.

Concretely, there are two ceremonies which occupy a supremely important place in Eliade's contention regarding the shaman's ecstatic journey to heaven. One of the ceremonies is the rite of shamanic initiation among the Buriats. The shaman candidate climbs a birch tree, makes nine turns at the top of it, and then comes down, taking up his position on a felt carpet placed at the foot of the birch tree. The nine turns symbolize the nine heavens of the universe; as he makes a turn one after the other, it is believed that he ascends from one heavenly zone to another until he reaches the highest layer of the universe. As he climbs, so we are told, the

candidate falls into ecstasy.<sup>21</sup> A strong birch tree is also set in his yurt, with its roots in the hearth and its top protruding through the smoke hole. The candidate climbs the tree; when he has reached its top and emerged through the smoke hole, he shouts to invoke the help from the heavenly gods. This birch has a special name meaning the “guardian of the door,” for it serves to the future shaman as the *opening to the sky*.

The shaman’s ecstatic flight to heaven is only one of the scenarios constituting the Buriat rite of shamanic initiation, which is unusually complex in structure.<sup>22</sup> It can be divided into two phases: (1) the preparatory stage which lasts for a couple of months, sometimes years; and (2) the rite of initiation proper, lasting only one day. The essential features of the rite of initiation are the following three: (1) the shaman candidate is carried on a felt carpet; (2) he is anointed with the blood of a sacrificed goat; and (3) he climbs a birch tree, undertaking the ecstatic heavenly journey.<sup>23</sup> There is almost no doubt that the ceremony as a whole is of relatively recent origin, and that it has developed under the influence of southern cultural traditions. While Uno Harva has drawn our attention to Mithraism as a source of this influence,<sup>24</sup> Hans Findeisen has suggested the influence of Tibetan Lamaism.<sup>25</sup> Points of correspondence between the Buriat initiation ceremony for the shaman and the Tibetan ordination ceremony for the lama are so striking that one can no longer exclude the possibility that Lamaism, together with Mithraism, has played a remarkable role in shaping the rite of shamanic initiation among the Buriats.

The horse sacrifice among the Altaians is another very important ceremony which Eliade employs to illustrate what he calls the shaman’s ecstatic flight to heaven.<sup>26</sup> It lasts two or three days. On the first evening a new yurt is erected in open space, and inside it a young birch tree is set with nine notches cut into its trunk. There is no doubt that the tree is charged with the symbolism of the Cosmic Tree, and that the nine notches symbolize the nine heavenly zones as understood by the Altaians. The horse to be offered to the god Bai Ülgän is sacrificed on the same evening. The second and most important part of the ceremony takes place on the following evening. A shaman in ecstasy climbs up the birch tree from one notch to another, describing to his listeners everything he sees and that is

happening in each one of these heavenly zones. Finally, he reaches the ninth and highest heaven where he humbly addresses his prayer to Bai Ülgän, offering him the soul of the sacrificed horse. At the end, “the shaman collapses, exhausted. The *baş-tut-kan-kiši* (i.e., his helper) approaches, and takes the drum and stick from his hands. The shaman remains motionless and dumb. After a time he rubs his eyes, appears to wake from a deep sleep, and greets those present as if after a long absence.”<sup>27</sup>

The general impression we get from this account of the celebrated Altaic ceremony is that the shaman's ecstasy is rather a fake, not a genuine one. Eliade himself is well aware of this fact when he speaks of the slight intensity of the shaman's “trance.” “In the sacrifice described by Radlov,” Eliade states, “the ‘ecstasy’ is obviously an imitation. The shaman laboriously mimes an ascent (after the traditional canon: bird flight, riding, etc.) and the interest of the rite is dramatic rather than ecstatic.”<sup>28</sup>

While Eliade, nonetheless, is inclined to the view that the Altaic ceremony of the horse sacrifice involves the shaman's ecstatic journey to the heavens, Schmidt presents us with a totally different view. According to him, the Altaic shaman in question has not achieved ecstasy; the shaman, whom Schmidt rightly calls a “white” shaman, may be compared to an actor playing his role on the stage rather than to a mystic properly so called. He is simply undertaking a symbolic journey to heaven as a *Himmelsdiener*.<sup>29</sup> As Schmidt has put it, “der sog. weisse Schamane ist gar kein Schamane.”<sup>30</sup> According to him, the essential and original form of Central Asian shamanism is represented by black shamanism, which is concerned with the spirits of the underworld. It involves ecstasy, and in that state of ecstasy the black shaman travels to the subterranean world. Black shamanism, according to Schmidt, is a degeneration of the Central Asian religion that is characterized by the worship of the celestial Supreme Being through the service of the householder. As to white shamanism that obviously exists in Central Asia, Schmidt holds that it is the product of a reaction of pastoral culture to black shamanism of the ecstatic type.

Schmidt's view of Central Asian shamanism might give us the impression that it has strong historical foundations. But, in fact, it is firmly conditioned by his two ethnological theories which are

untenable, i.e., primordial monotheism (*Urmonotheismus*) and the theory of culture circles (*Kulturkreislehre*). While Eliade's interpretation of shamanism in Central and North Asia is very much colored by the ideology of the nostalgia for the paradisaical era in the mythical beginning, that of Schmidt is very much conditioned by his view of the gradual deterioration of the sky religion among the pastoral peoples in Central Asia.

To put it briefly, Schmidt claims that at the dawn of human history there existed the purest and most genuine form of belief in one Supreme Being reigning in heaven. He is the creator of the world, all-powerful and all-knowing. As a good Catholic, Schmidt is convinced that this belief in the celestial Supreme Being, i.e., the High God, was given as *Uroffenbarung* equally to all peoples in the beginning of human history. At the same time, he holds that there is nothing mystical about this belief in the one celestial Supreme Being; according to this rationalist, the *idea* of the High God originated from the primitive man's causalistic thinking based on his calm and objective observation of the sky. In other words, the *purest and most genuine idea* of the High God existed in the beginning of history without myths, and without any anthropomorphic representation of God. In his opinion, this form of belief can still be discerned among the most primitive peoples belonging to the cultural stage that he calls primal culture (*Urkultur*). In the course of time, however, this primordial religion (*Urreligion*) began to be contaminated by mythic images and other conceptions of deity. On one hand, the High God became represented by mythic images as if he were a man, and on the other his prestige became overshadowed by other deities and spirits (such as the gods of the atmosphere, the gods and goddesses ruling over the kingdoms of animals and vegetation, the spirits of dead ancestors, the spirits of animals, and so on). Schmidt views this "differentiation" of the High God into the various divine beings and spirits as a process of progressive deterioration and degeneration of human spirituality from the initial stage of man's religious life characterized by the belief in the High God. According to him, this purest belief existed initially also among the pastoral and patriarchally oriented peoples of Central Asia, but their religion can no longer be called as genuine as that of the "primal culture" peoples because it has been inevitably

exposed to the historical process of spiritual degeneration. The celestial structure of Central Asian religion has been especially contaminated by shamanism, whose historical and spiritual basis is deeply rooted in what Schmidt calls primary culture (*Primärkultur*) of Southeast Asia, which is characterized by primitive gardening, “matriarchy,” and the phenomenon of possession.<sup>31</sup>

As we may note, disagreements between Eliade and Schmidt concerning white and black shamanism are closely linked with the different ways in which they understand the phenomenon of shamanic ecstasy.

### *Ecstasy and Possession*

Most of students in shamanism would agree that the phenomenon of ecstasy is constitutive for shamanism. As Dominik Schröder has aptly said, “without ecstasy there is no shamanism.”<sup>32</sup> As a matter of fact, ecstasy is not only an indispensable part of shamanism, but constitutes also its core; it is the phenomenon of ecstasy that integrates the various elements of beliefs (e.g., beliefs in the heavenly gods and a variety of spirits, good and evil, etc.), myths (cosmology and cosmogony), and ceremonies accompanied by the shamanic costume and drum, into a coherent whole of shamanism. In this sense, it is crucially important to see how the concept of ecstasy is defined by students of shamanism. And here again, we find that Eliade and Schmidt have given it different interpretations.

According to Schmidt, the phenomenon of ecstasy is the criterion by which to judge true or false shamanism. In his view, there is partial imperfect ecstasy, and there is perfect ecstasy. Imperfect ecstasy is what is found in white shamans; they do not achieve perfect ecstasy. What we find in them is merely an artificial ecstasy, a fake, an imitation, that is not accompanied by the loss of consciousness; it is somewhat like the heightened spiritual state which may be experienced by an actor when he plays a role on the stage.<sup>33</sup> In Schmidt’s opinion, perfect ecstasy is found only in black shamanism, and often also in black-white shamans. What characterizes perfect ecstasy is the complete loss of consciousness, and it is accompanied by epileptic seizures or convulsions; it may

be called the phenomenon of possession, in which state the self of the black shaman is replaced by another self of supernatural quality.<sup>34</sup> Schmidt maintains that the white shaman never arrives at this sort of loss of consciousness because he never acquires the overwhelming spiritual experience that may correspond to that of the black shaman, i.e., the awe-inspiring fear and trembling which the black shaman experiences when he is possessed by subterranean spirits or when he travels to the underworld. No contact with the good spirits of heaven can create in the white shaman's psyche such an overwhelming experience and, by extension, perfect ecstasy involving the loss of consciousness.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, Schmidt asserts, the white shaman is not a true shaman but simply a *Himmelsdiener*. Accordingly, white shamanism has nothing to do with the genuine expression of ecstasy whereas black shamanism is characterized by the authentic phenomenon of ecstasy, and this ecstasy is interpreted by Schmidt either as possession, or as the spiritual journey to the underworld.

The element of ecstasy is equally fundamental to shamanism, as viewed by Eliade. As he puts it, shamanism is a complex of archaic techniques of ecstasy. This ecstasy is defined by Eliade as a temporary abandonment of the body by the soul of the shaman, and he links the shaman's ecstasy with his soul's journey to the world beyond; for him, the phenomenon of possession is qualitatively different from ecstasy and of secondary significance:

It is true that "possession" is an archaic and universal phenomenon, but we see no reason to draw the conclusion that the experience of possession preceded the experience of ecstasy. On the contrary, it is understandable how "possession" could develop from an ecstatic experience: while the soul (or the "principal soul") of the shaman was on its voyage in the higher or lower worlds, "spirits" could take possession of his body. It is difficult to imagine an inverse process; for, once the spirits have taken possession of the shaman, the *personal* ecstasy—that is, his soul's ascension to heaven or its descension to the underworld—is precluded. In that case, it is the "spirits" that entail and crystallize the religious experience by their "possession."<sup>36</sup>

In Eliade's opinion, the shaman's ecstatic journey to the world beyond can take, theoretically, three different directions: (1) the ascent to the heavenly zones; (2) the descent to the underworld; and (3) the spiritual journey to distant space. But, *practically*, Eliade tends to equate the shaman's ecstatic journey to the beyond with his

flight towards heaven, regarding the other two cosmic journeys as of secondary order. The reason is obvious: according to him, it is the ecstatic flight towards heaven that constitutes the essence of the classical form of shamanism, which is white shamanism. As Eliade has succinctly put it, *le trait caractéristique du chamanisme—trait qui le distingue des autres techniques magico-religieuses—est l’ascension “extatique” du chaman au ciel.*<sup>37</sup> This specific aspect of ecstatic experience is of paramount importance to Eliade because he views the shaman as one who knows how to restore, and does restore indeed to the present *in concreto* that primeval paradisaical era when communications between heaven and earth were possible. It is very likely for this reason that Eliade puts primary emphasis on ecstasy, more specifically, ecstatic flight towards heaven rather than on the phenomenon of possession. To him, ecstasy and possession are quite different states.

### *Shamanic Ecstasy and the Spirits*

The problem of shamanic ecstasy can be pursued further in different ways. But, phenomenologically speaking, shamanic ecstasy, and more particularly, shamanic ecstasy in its Central Asian and Siberian form is inseparably connected with the activities of a variety of spirits.

According to the beliefs of the Central Asian and Siberian peoples, the shaman receives his calling from the spirits, undergoes a process of initiatory trials by the spirits (such as the dismemberment of the flesh and the reduction of the body to the bones, followed by the renewal of the internal organs), and with the aid of the spirits he sets out for the ecstatic journey to the heavenly zones or the underworld. In view of this, one may agree with Ivar Paulson when he states that the spirits with which the shaman has to deal in his vocation play an absolutely central role in shamanism.<sup>38</sup> As a matter of fact, the significance of spirits for the shamanic vocation is such that, to use the words of Åke Hulkrantz, “no description of shamanism is complete which does not take into account the part played by the shaman’s auxiliary spirits.”<sup>39</sup>

There are different categories of spirits in the world of the shamans, the most prominent of which are the following: (1) the

spirit of the dead ancestral shaman; (2) the spirit of the wild animal; (3) the tutelary spirit, also known as the shaman's *Hauptgeist* (Friedrich); and (4) the evil spirit. The shaman enters into contact with at least these four types of spirits. It is well known that a shaman is at once medicine man, priest, and psychopomp; as a medicine man he cures sicknesses, he fulfills priestly functions when he conducts the ceremony of sacrifice (e.g., the horse sacrifice among the Altaic peoples), and as a psychopomp he escorts the souls of the dead to the netherworld. The shaman is able to fulfill this threefold function because he knows the techniques of falling into ecstasy, and that in itself clearly indicates that he knows how to deal with a variety of spirits. It should be noted that each of these spirits is an entity categorically different from any others; the spirit of the ancestral shaman is typologically different from the spirit of the wild animal which, in turn, is distinguishable from the tutelary spirit.

The spirit of the ancestral shaman plays a decisive role when a new shaman is "elected" or "chosen" for the shamanic vocation. This does not mean, of course, that the future shaman is always chosen by the spirits of his ancestral shamans. He can be chosen, for instance, by the heavenly gods who reveal their will through the stones falling from the sky, or by striking him with lightning. But the intervention of such heavenly gods in the shamanic election is far less frequent than that of the spirits of ancestral shamans, whose decisive role in this matter is clearly documented in a considerable number of autobiographical stories of Siberian shamans. For instance, the Tungus shaman Ivan Cholko states that before a man becomes shaman he is sick for a long time, his head being in a state of confusion. The spirits of the dead shamans come, cut his flesh in pieces, and drink his blood. They also cut off his head and throw it into a caldron, where various iron pieces are forged for his shamanic costume.<sup>40</sup> According to another Tungus shaman, a man cannot become shaman if there is no shaman in his clan; only that person who has shaman-ancestors in the past can expect to receive the gift of shamanizing. Before this Tungus shaman started his vocation, he was sick for a whole year; his limbs swelled and he often lost consciousness. He usually recovered from this illness when he began to "sing." Then his ancestors, i.e., the spirits of his

shaman-ancestors, came and initiated him. They let him stand up like a tree, and pierced him with arrows until he lost consciousness. They cut his flesh in pieces and ate them raw, and tore his bones and counted them; if even one of the bones had been missing, he could not have become a shaman. Finally, the spirits drank the blood of a reindeer and gave it also to him to drink. During this operation he went for a whole summer without eating or drinking.<sup>41</sup>

A Buriat shaman, Mikhail Stepanov, tells: Before a man becomes shaman he is sick for a long time. Then the spirits of his dead shaman-ancestors come and teach him. When they come, he becomes absent-minded, speaking with them as if with living persons. Nobody except him is able to see the spirits. On many occasions one comes, sometimes more, frequently many, almost all of them are dead shaman-ancestors. They torture him, strike him, and cut his flesh in pieces with knives. During this operation the future shaman remains there half dead; the beating of his heart is scarcely heard, his breathing weak, and his face and hands are dark blue.<sup>42</sup> Another Buriat shaman speaks of the ascent of the shaman's soul to the heavenly zone. Before a man becomes shaman, the spirits of his ancestral shamans carry his soul up to heaven in front of the "Assembly of the Saaytani," and there he is instructed. When the instruction is over, they cook his flesh in order that he may become "mature." During this operation the shaman remains half dead for seven days. On this occasion his relatives (only men) come to him and sing, "Our shaman is returning to life and he will help us!" While the shaman's flesh is cut in pieces and cooked by the spirits of his shaman-ancestors, no stranger may touch it.<sup>43</sup>

According to the Yakut shaman Sofron Sateyev, when a man is to become shaman he must undergo a special ceremony, i.e., the dismemberment of the body. It is the spirits of his dead shaman-ancestors which cut his flesh in pieces; he "dies" and lies in his yurt for three or four days. He goes without eating and drinking.<sup>44</sup> Another Yakut shaman, Pyotr Ivanov, gives further details about this initiatory ordeal of dismemberment, followed by the renewal of the body. His limbs are removed and disjointed with an iron hook by the spirits of his ancestral shamans; the bones are cleaned, the flesh scraped, the body fluids thrown away, and the eyes torn away from their sockets. After this operation all the bones are gathered

up, joined together with iron, and new eyes are put in place. Thus he is transformed into a shaman by the spirits.<sup>45</sup>

All these fascinating stories amply illustrate that a man can become shaman only after undergoing terrifying but transformative psychic experiences of death and renewal, namely, the dismemberment of the flesh and the reduction of the body to the bones, followed by the renewal of the internal organs. At the same time, they clearly show how deeply the spirits of the dead ancestral shamans are involved in the making of future shamans.

There is, in fact, a reciprocal relationship between the shaman and the spirits of his shaman-ancestors; the spirits are in need of him, and the future shaman needs help from them to fulfill his vital functions in the community in which he lives. Once a shaman dies, the spirits of his ancestral shamans lose their “abode” so to speak, and eagerly search for a new “master” (a future shaman) until they find him.<sup>46</sup> If that person is not willing to become a shaman, they will torture him with the various kinds of sicknesses until he agrees, and then once he agrees and starts shamanizing, he is cured.<sup>47</sup> The wandering of ancestral spirits in search for a new shaman may be taken to mean that these representatives of the world of the spirits are anxious to establish and maintain, in the person of the new shaman, a connecting link with the world of living beings. In this sense, we may say that the shaman is an intermediary between this world of the living humans and the world of the spirits, which are specifically represented here by the spirits of the dead shaman-ancestors. The concept of community, as understood by the Central Asian and Siberian peoples, is much broader and more comprehensive in scope than ours; it embraces both the living and the dead, this world and the world beyond, and on the borderline between the two worlds stands the shaman as a link, as a mediator.

While the spirits of the ancestral shamans are in need of him, the shaman is also in need of them because it is believed that each of these spirits of shaman-ancestors owns a certain number of spirits of wild animals and birds, which are essential for the shaman's ecstatic journey to the world beyond. These spirits of wild animals and birds are given to a future shaman by the spirits of his ancestral shamans when he is “elected” or “chosen” by them. This means that the more ancestral shamans he has, the more spirits of wild

animals or birds he will have, and thus he will become a more powerful shaman. It is precisely in this context that we may understand the remark of the Tungus shaman, mentioned above, that "a man cannot become shaman if there is no shaman in his clan." Of course, one may become a shaman of his own free will even if he has no shamanic family background. But, such a "self-made" shaman is usually considered weak because he has virtually no chance of being chosen by the spirits of ancestral shamans which usually possess, at least, a few spirits of wild animals and birds. Moreover, such a weak shaman often lacks an inner psychic experience of vital importance, i.e., the experience of having his flesh cut in pieces and his body reduced to the bones. According to a Yakut shaman, "small insignificant shamans are not cut in pieces; only a great shaman, who has a series of shaman-ancestors in his clan, undergoes the initiation of dismemberment."<sup>48</sup>

The great shaman usually has his own tutelary spirit, variously known as *ijä-kyl* (the so-called "animal mother" or *Tiermutter*) among the Yakuts and the Dolgans, *tyn-bura* among the Teleuts of the Altai, or *ayami* among the Goldi. This spirit, theriomorphic in structure, also plays a role for the making of the shaman. It may appear, for instance, in the form of a dog, but the more powerful one appears as a bull, a colt, a bear, an elk, or an eagle.<sup>49</sup> The Yakuts have the tradition that the tutelary spirit, appearing as an "animal mother" (i.e., *ijä-kyl*), escorts the soul of the future shaman to the underworld. She has an appearance of a great bird (sometimes eagle) with an iron beak, hooked claws, and a long tail. She shows herself to a future shaman three times: at his birth, at his shamanic initiation, and finally at his death. Especially interesting is the way she treats him at the time of his initiation. The "animal mother" guides his soul down to the underworld, leaving it on the ninth and highest branch of a pitch pine (the so-called *Schamanenbaum*, also considered here as the Cosmic Tree) until it reaches maturity. Then, finding the soul matured, she brings it back to earth and proceeds to cut his flesh in pieces and scatters them on all the "roads of sickness and death," giving all of them to evil spirits which cause sickness and death. Each one of the evil spirits devours the part of the future shaman's flesh that is his share; according to the Yakuts, this gives the future shaman the power to cure the corresponding

sicknesses. The evil spirits depart after devouring his whole flesh. Finally, the “animal mother” restores his bones to their proper places, and the future shaman wakes up as from a deep sleep.<sup>50</sup>

Among the Goldi the tutelary spirit, *ayami*, can take human forms, not to say animal forms. According to a Goldi shaman, it was when he was asleep on his sick-bed that the tutelary spirit approached him as a very beautiful woman to choose him as a shaman. She said, “I am the *ayami* of your ancestors, the shamans. I taught them shamaning. Now I am going to teach you. The old shamans have died off, and there is no one to heal people. You are to become a shaman.” But, she comes to him sometimes in the form of an old woman. Of course, she can also manifest herself in animal forms; she appears sometimes as a wolf, and sometimes as a winged tiger. The Goldi shaman rides on the tiger when he makes ecstatic journeys in the heavens. He also relates that the tutelary spirit has given him three “assistants”—the panther, the bear, and the tiger. “They come to me in my dreams,” he says, “and appear whenever I summon them while shamaning. If one of them refuses to come, the *ayami* makes them obey. ... When I am shamaning, the *ayami* and the assistant spirits are possessing me.”<sup>51</sup>

These stories clearly show that the tutelary spirit is typologically distinguishable from the spirit of the dead ancestral shaman on one hand, and from the spirit of the wild animal (discussed below) on the other. The difference between the tutelary spirit and the spirit of the ancestral shaman is suggested by the account of the Goldi shaman that it is the *ayami* who “chose” his ancestors as shamans. The tutelary spirit is different also from the spirit of the wild animal although they are both theriomorphic in structure. Two obvious differences may be noted here. In the first place, the tutelary spirit “elects” or “chooses” a man for the shamanic vocation, and subjects him to a series of initiatory trials, thereby transforming him into a shaman. The tutelary spirit, as well as the spirit of the ancestral shaman, is responsible for the making of the shaman. By contrast, the spirit of the wild animal is apparently not involved in this process, but enters into contact with a shaman *only after he has become such*, and at the time he sets out for the ecstatic journey to the world beyond. And secondly, the tutelary spirit is higher in rank than the spirits of wild animals, emerging as their master or lord. This point

is well made by the Goldi shaman, who says that the spirits of wild animals (such as the panther, the bear, and the tiger) stand under control of the tutelary spirit, serving the shaman as "assistant spirits."

The spirits of wild animals, variously known as "helping spirits," "guardian spirits," or "assistant spirits," are equally important for the shamanic vocation. They are indispensable to the shaman when he sets out for the spiritual journey to the world beyond. The purpose of his ecstatic journeys as a shaman is mainly threefold: (1) to bring the soul of the sacrificed animal to heaven and offer it to the heavenly gods; (2) to lead the soul of the dead to his new dwelling place in the netherworld; and (3) to search for the lost soul of the sick in heaven, in distant space, and most frequently in the underworld. The shaman is engaged in the ecstatic journey most often when he has to cure the sick.<sup>52</sup>

One of the most interesting pieces of information we have about this shamanic activity comes from the Yenisei Ostiaks. Healing requires two ecstatic journeys. The first of the two journeys is more of a rapid survey. It is during the second, which ends in trance, that the shaman enters deep into the beyond. The séance begins, as usual, with the invocation of the spirits, the spirits of his ancestral shamans and those of wild animals or birds that are to serve as his assistants. The spirits come into his drum one after the other. During all this time the shaman sings and dances. When the spirits have come, and we may suppose that some of them have intruded into his body, he begins to leap; this means that he has left the earth and is rising toward the clouds. At a certain moment he cries: "I am high in the air, I see the Yenisei a hundred versts away." On the way he meets other spirits and tells the audience whatever he sees. Then, addressing the spirit of the bird carrying him through the air, he cries: "O my little fly, rise still higher, I want to see farther!..." Soon afterwards he returns to the yurt, surrounded by his spirits. It seems that he has not found the patient's soul, but he has seen it at a great distance, in the land of the dead. To reach it, he starts dancing again until trance supervenes. Still carried by the spirits of wild animals or birds, his soul leaves his body and enters the beyond, from which he finally returns with the patient's soul.<sup>53</sup> This account is noteworthy for at least three reasons: (1) it is

believed by the Yenisei Ostiaks as well as many other peoples in Central Asia and Siberia that sickness is caused by the loss of the soul, hence the shaman undertakes the ecstatic journey to get it back from the hands of evil spirits in the underworld; (2) the Yenisei Ostiak shaman is involved in two genuine ecstatic journeys, one heavenly and the other subterranean; and (3) to make the ecstatic journeys, he summons not only the spirits of his ancestral shamans but also the spirits of wild animals and birds.

The ecstatic journey, whether heavenly or subterranean, is believed to be a long and difficult one, so the shaman needs help from the spirits of wild animals. These spirits appear in diverse forms: bears, wolves, reindeer, hares and, of course, various kinds of birds (especially the goose, eagle, owl, crow, and so on). They come to help a shaman from the various cosmic zones together with his own tutelary spirit and the spirits of his shaman-ancestors as he beats his drum to summon them. The spirits enter his body, inspiring him. Otherwise, they move into his drum. It is also said that they sit on his shamanic costume. This is precisely when the phenomenon of shamanic ecstasy takes place, then the shaman is transformed into a *spiritual being*, and his free-soul leaves his body for the ecstatic journey to the world beyond, accompanied by the spirits. We are inclined to the view, then, that phenomenologically speaking, shamanic ecstasy is closely linked, in the belief of the Central Asian and Siberian peoples, with the phenomenon of intrusion of the shaman's physical body by the spirits of wild animals or birds.<sup>54</sup>

Dominik Schröder is certainly right when he asserts that shamanism as the techniques of ecstasy is essentially a technique of transformation.<sup>55</sup> There is no question that when the spirits of wild animals or birds come to a shaman as helping spirits, enter him, and inspire him, then he is transformed into a spiritual being capable of the ecstatic flight. Our question, however, is whether Schröder is justified in interpreting this phenomenon of intrusion and its concomitant transformation in terms of possession. The same question may be directed also to Hans Findeisen when he states:

Die von ihm (Eliade) behauptete scharfe Trennung zwischen Ekstase im Sinne von Heraustreten aus der Leiblichkeit und "Besessenheit" = unmit-

telbare psychische Beeinflussung durch Ahnengeister usw., lässt sich nämlich überhaupt nicht ohne Vergewaltigung des tatsächlich komplexen Charakters der schamanischen Traditionen durchführen, zumal wenn man bedenkt, dass dem Schamanen eine Himmels- oder Unterweltsreise nur dann möglich ist, wenn irgendwelche Geister — mindestens erstmalig — in ihn eingedrungen waren und seine Seele zu den erwähnten Reisen von der Körperlichkeit befreit hatten. Ganz zutreffend sagt demgegenüber Schröder, dass die Seele den Schritt über die Schwelle nur tun kann, wenn ein ausserseelisches Gegenüber aus dem Jenseits ihr hierzu behilflich ist. "Ekstase" im engeren Sinne des "Heraustretens," d.h. im Sinne von Eliade, ist also von gleichzeitiger, zumindest einmal früher stattgehabter Besessenheit — wir haben hierbei die Typik der schamanischen Erlebnisse im Auge — abhängig, wie auch beim einzelnen Schamanen immer wieder reine Ekstase (Himmels- oder Unterweltsreise) mit ausgesprochener "Besessenheit" durch Ahnengeister usw. ohne Exkursionserlebnisse abwechseln.<sup>56</sup>

Findeisen rightly points out the close relationship that exists between shamanic ecstasy and the phenomenon of intrusion, but intrusion should not be confused with possession. It is true that shamans are sometimes found to be possessed, but these are simply exceptional cases for which there is a particular explanation that he has been enfeebled because of sicknesses. The "possessed" shamans, however, can no longer function properly as shamans.<sup>57</sup> As Shirokogoroff has aptly said, "*Saman* is a person (male and female) who knows the art of possessing spirits in order to control these spirits in the interest of other people; *saman* is the spirits' master."<sup>58</sup> His view has been basically accepted by Adolf Friedrich and Ivar Paulson. According to Friedrich, when the shaman has been entered by the spirit of a bird, he is inspired; his soul leaves his body, his essence being transformed into the bird whose spirit has entered him. However, this does not mean that he is possessed, he is still able to freely discharge the spirit from him. In his opinion, the shaman is essentially that special kind of religious genius who is able to freely control the spirits approaching him.<sup>59</sup> Paulson is equally emphatic in asserting that "intrusion" and "possession" are two qualitatively different phenomena. Even when the shaman takes spirits into himself, he still maintains his own personal integrity; he is the master of the spirits, not their slave or passive tool as is usually the case with the spiritualistic medium.<sup>60</sup> At any rate, shamanic ecstasy is inseparably linked with the phenomenon of intrusion of the shaman's body by the spirits of wild animals or birds, but it ought to be clearly distinguished from the phenomenon of possession.

Perhaps in this connection, attention may be paid (though briefly) to the shamanic costume, the design of which assumes the form of wild animals or birds. As Harva has shown, it may be classified generally into three major types: (1) the "bird" type; (2) the "reindeer" type; and (3) the "bear" type.<sup>61</sup> This is a good indication that wild animals or birds are concretely represented even in the shaman's costume. But the term "representation" might perhaps not be appropriate to refer to the psychic state that the shaman experiences during his ecstatic journey to the world beyond. Both Eliade and Friedrich rightly stress that the shaman, wearing such a costume and holding and beating a drum in his hand, is transformed in his inner experience into an animal, whether it is a bird, a reindeer, or a bear. "The shaman," Eliade states, "*turns himself* into an animal just as he achieves a similar result by putting on an animal mask. Or, again, we might speak of a *new identity* for the shaman, who becomes an animal-spirit, and speaks, sings, or flies like the animals and birds."<sup>62</sup> Once the shaman has become an "animal" or "bird" himself, it is believed that he is able to understand the *language of animals* which is, of course, one of the secrets belonging to the shamanic vocation.<sup>63</sup> There is virtually no doubt then that the spiritual milieu of shamanism in Central Asia and Siberia can duly be looked for in the archaic culture of hunters, in what Findeisen has called the *Tierschicht* in human history<sup>64</sup> although it has also been exposed to the influence of agrarian cultures in the south.

What then is the religious world of the Central Asian and Siberian peoples? It is preeminently the *world of the spirits*. In their view, the human world is in constant danger of attack by numerous evil spirits causing sickness and death and is, in fact, actually attacked by them. If there is one person who is powerful enough to defend the human world against them, it is the shaman who is acquainted with a variety of spirits. He is the virtuoso in the world of the spirits. He "knows" the ways and strategies of the evil spirits causing sickness and death, and he alone is endowed with the capacity to "see" the spirits. Moreover, in order to defend the human world he is able to become a *spiritual being* himself and undertake the ecstatic journey in the three cosmic zones. He is able to fight triumphant battles against evil spirits precisely because he

can expect to obtain the necessary help from the spirits of his ancestral shamans, from his tutelary spirit, and from the spirits of animals and birds. In this sense, human life is viewed as a kind of battleground where good spirits and evil spirits are engaged in ongoing fights for existence. It is hardly surprising that the people of Central Asia and Siberia have, in general, been receptive to the message of the Iranian religions colored by a dualism, which depicts the setting of human history as a battleground between the opposing forces of good and evil.

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<sup>1</sup> Adolf Friedrich and Georg Buddruss, *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien* (Munich, 1955). The book contains, together with an excellent introduction (pp. 13-91), the translation of shamanic legends and stories of the Yakuts, Buriats, and Tungus in G. V. Ksenofontov, *Legendy i rasskazy* (second ed.; Moscow, 1930); the collection of epic songs and hymns of the Yakuts, taken from A. A. Popov, *Jakutskij Folklor* (Leningrad, 1936); and a Yakut story entitled "Ürüng-Uolan," taken from Sostavila L. Lesnaja, *Skazki narodov SSSR* (1939). The general trend of Russian research in shamanism during the last fifty years is briefly discussed by K. H. Menges in his "Zum sibirischen Šamanismus," *Central Asiatic Journal* 25 (1981, pp. 260-309), 260ff. This article is, however, designed primarily to be a review of Vilmos Diószegi and M. Hoppál (eds.), *Shamanism in Siberia* (Budapest, 1978).

<sup>2</sup> The revised and enlarged edition of this work in English was published under the title *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, trans. by Willard R. Trask ("Bollingen Series," LXXXVI; New York, 1964), which has since remained the standard work on shamanism in the English-speaking world. Eliade has discussed the phenomenon of shamanism in the whole history of religions, not confining himself to shamanism in its Central Asian and Siberian form. But the fact still remains that this particular form of shamanism constitutes the integral part of the *magnum opus*. As to Eliade's view of shamanism, see also his "Le problème du chamanisme," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 131 (1946), 5-52; "Shamanism," in *Forgotten Religions*, ed. by Vergilius Ferm (New York, 1950), pp. 299-308; "Einführende Betrachtungen über den Schamanismus," *Paideuma* 5 (1951), 87-97; "Techniques de l'extase et langages secrets," *Conferenze II*, ed. by Giuseppe Tucci (Serie Orientale Roma, 7; Rome, 1955), pp. 57-79; and "Recent Works on Shamanism: A Review Article," *History of Religions* 1 (1961), 152-86. See also C. Nestvogel, "Mircea Eliades Auffassung des Schamanismus," *Saeculum* 28 (1977), 223-25.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, Dominik Schröder, "Zur Struktur des Schamanismus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des lamaistischen Gurtum," *Anthropos* 50 (1955), 848-81; Hans Findeisen, *Schamanentum, dargestellt am Beispiel des Besessenheitspriester nordeurasiatischer Völker* ("Urban Bücher," 28; Stuttgart, 1957); László Vajda, "Zur phaseologischen Stellung des Schamanismus," *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 31 (1959), 456-85; Ivar Paulson, Ake Hultkrantz, and Karl Jettmar, *Die Religionen Nordeurasiens und der amerikanischen Arktis* (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 125-38 (Paulson),

397-405 (Hultkrantz); V. Diószegi (ed.), *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest, 1963), which has been published in English under the title *Popular Beliefs and Folklore Tradition in Siberia* (Bloomington, Indiana, 1968); Henry N. Michael (ed.), *Studies in Siberian Shamanism* (Toronto, 1963); I. Paulson, "Zur Phänomenologie des Schamanismus," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 16 (1964), 121-41; I. Paulson, "Der Schamanismus in Nordasien (Sibirien)," *Paideuma* 11 (1965), 91-104; A. Lommel, *Die Welt der frühen Jäger: Medizinmänner, Schamanen, Künstler* (Munich, 1965), which appeared in English in 1967 under the two different titles: *The World of the Early Hunters* (London), and *Shamanism: The Beginnings of Art* (New York); Carl-Martin Edsman (ed.), *Studies in Shamanism* (Stockholm, 1967); Helmut Hoffmann, *Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus* (Stuttgart, 1967), pp. 100-40, 144-46 (bibliography); Alois Closs, "Die Ekstase des Schamanen," *Ethnos* 34 (1969), 70-89; Matthias Hermanns, *Schamanen: Pseudoschamanen, Erlöser und Heilbringer* (3 vols.; Wiesbaden, 1970); Å. Hultkrantz, "A Definition of Shamanism," *Temenos* 9 (1973), 25-37; Detlef Unzeitig, "Sibirischer Schamanismus," *Saeculum* 28 (1977), 226-34; Johannes Maringer, "Schamanismus und Schamanen in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 29 (1977), 114-28; V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál (eds.), *Shamanism in Siberia* (Budapest, 1978).

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia: A Study in Social Anthropology* (Oxford, 1914), pp. 169ff; Georg Nioradze, *Der Schamanismus bei den sibirischen Völkern* (Stuttgart, 1925), pp. 50ff; Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus* (Lund-Copenhagen, 1939), pp. 19ff.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, M. Eliade, "Le problème du chamanisme," pp. 9ff.; *Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy*, pp. 23-32; H. Findeisen, *Schamanentum*, pp. 50ff.; I. Paulson, "Zur Phänomenologie des Schamanismus," p. 135; Å. Hultkrantz, "Ecological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism" (in *Shamanism in Siberia*, eds. by Diószegi and Hoppál, pp. 27-58), pp. 49-51. See also Ioan M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 179ff.

<sup>6</sup> Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 27.

<sup>7</sup> Schröder, "Zur Struktur des Schamanismus," pp. 851ff.; Findeisen, *Schamanentum*, pp. 202ff.; Gustav Ränk, "Shamanism as a Research Subject: Some Methodological Viewpoints," in *Studies in Shamanism*, ed. by C.-M. Edsman, pp. 15-22; Hoffmann, *Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus*, pp. 101f.

<sup>8</sup> Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 184ff.; Schmidt, *Ursprung* 12: 620ff. See also Uno Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker* ("FF Communications," No. 125; Helsinki, 1938), pp. 482-85. It may be mentioned, in this connection, that Eliade and Schmidt agree in recognizing the existence of a mixed type, known as "white-black" shamanism.

<sup>9</sup> "Le problème du chamanisme," p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> "Le problème du chamanisme," p. 37, n. 1.

<sup>11</sup> "Le problème du chamanisme," pp. 51-52. See also his *Shamanism*, pp. 495ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Shamanism*, pp. 4ff. See also Sergei Shirokogoroff, "General Theory of Shamanism among the Tungus," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North-China Branch* 54 (1923), 246-49; "Versuch einer Erforschung der Grundlagen des Schamanentums bei den Tungusen," *Bäessler-Archiv* 18 (1935), 41-42, 96.

<sup>13</sup> *Ursprung* 12: 617-18, 633-35, 656-59.

<sup>14</sup> Fritz Bornemann, "W. Schmidts Vorarbeiten für eine Neuauflage des Handbuchs der Religionsgeschichte," *Anthropos* 50 (1955), 938.

<sup>15</sup> See, for instance, Schmidt's general discussion of shamanism vis-à-vis religion in *Ursprung* 12: 756ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Ursprung* 12: 618.

<sup>17</sup> *Ursprung* 12: 758.

<sup>18</sup> Eliade, "Recent Works on Shamanism: A Review Article," p. 154; *Shamanism*, p. 504.

<sup>19</sup> *Shamanism*, p. 505.

<sup>20</sup> See "Nostalgia for Paradise in the Primitive Traditions," in his *Myths, Dreams, and Mysteries* ("Harper Torchbooks"; New York, 1960), pp. 59-72; *Patterns in Comparative Religion* ("Meridian Books"; Cleveland, 1963), pp. 99ff.; "Notes on the Symbolism of the Arrow," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in memory of Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough*, ed. by Jacob Neusner (Leiden, 1968), pp. 463-75.

<sup>21</sup> Understandably, the ritual of the heavenly ascent is differently conducted in various places among the Buriats. In the Balagansk district, for instance, the candidate, seated on a felt carpet, is carried nine times around each of the nine birch trees, climbs it, and makes nine turns at its top. The materials of fundamental importance were presented by N. N. Agapitov and M. N. Khangalov in an essay, "Materials for the Study of Shamanism in Siberia" (in Russian, 1883). On the basis of this essay, as well as V. M. Mikhailowski, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia" (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 24, 1894, pp. 62-100, 126-58), pp. 87-90, Western students of shamanism such as U. Harva, M. Eliade, W. Schmidt, and H. Findeisen have written on the Buriat initiation ceremony. See Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, pp. 487-98; Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 115-22; Schmidt, *Ursprung* 10 (1952): 399-422; Findeisen, *Schamanentum*, pp. 70-79.

<sup>22</sup> The unusual complexity of the Buriat rite of shamanic initiation becomes clear when it is compared with others known to us in Central Asia and Siberia. In his discussion of this subject, Eliade mentions the following peoples: the Tungus of Transbaikalia and of Manchuria, the Manchu, the Yakuts, the Samoyeds and the Ostiaks (discussed together), the Goldi, and the Buriats (*Shamanism*, pp. 110f.). Strikingly, little is known of the ceremony among the peoples in the northeastern part of Siberia such as the Yukagir, the Koryak, the Chukchee, and the Kamchadal; the documentation is almost entirely limited to the peoples in southern Central Asia. Moreover, even among these Central Asian peoples we have no satisfactory data except among the Buriats, whose initiation ceremony for the shaman is well documented. It is true that, according to Harva, ceremonies similar to those among the Buriats are known among "the Sibio (a people related to the Tungus), the Tatars of the Altai and, to some extent, also the Yakuts and the Goldi" (*Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, p. 498). But Harva mentions it without giving further details, and Eliade is familiar with Harva's report (*Shamanism*, p. 120). Consequently, we may conclude that no detailed and satisfactory information is available on the public rite of shamanic initiation other than that of the Buriats.

<sup>23</sup> Mikhailowski, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia," pp. 89-90.

<sup>24</sup> Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, pp. 492ff.; Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 121-22.

<sup>25</sup> Findeisen, *Schamanentum*, pp. 77ff. Harva himself hinted at some possible influence from Lamaism. See his *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, p. 496.

<sup>26</sup> Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 190-200, drawing on Wilhelm Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, II (2 vols. in 1; Leipzig, 1884), 20-50; Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, pp. 553-56. See also Schmidt's detailed analysis in his *Ursprung* 9 (1949): 278-341.

<sup>27</sup> Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 197.

<sup>28</sup> *Shamanism*, p. 200. Eliade is aware of the inauthentic character of this shamanic "ecstasy" based on historical grounds. See his *Shamanism*, pp. 198ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Ursprung* 12: 634.

<sup>30</sup> *Ursprung* 12: 634. Cf. also *Ursprung* 12: 365, 618. Schmidt's view has been accepted by H. Hoffmann, who states that among the Buriats and the Altaians the shaman's "ecstatic" journey to heaven existed only in an imitation, not in its genuine form. See his *Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus*, pp. 123-25.

<sup>31</sup> Schmidt, *The Origin and Growth of Religion*, trans. by H. J. Rose (London, 1931), pp. 257-61, 262-82, 283-90; *Ursprung* 6 (1935): 468-508. See also his *Wege der Kulturen* (St. Augustin, 1964), a collection of his essays edited by the Anthropos-Institut. Especially relevant for our purposes are the following: "Das System der Kulturkreise" (pp. 3-11), "Älteste Menschheit" (pp. 45-88, especially pp. 61ff.), "Primärkulturen und spätere Kulturkreise" (pp. 165-78), "Die Religionen der späteren Primitivvölkern" (pp. 179-200), and "Das Höchste Wesen im Kulturkreis der patriarchalen Herdenviehzüchter" (pp. 221-42). His theories have been criticized by eminent ethnologists and historians of religions, not to mention R. Pettazzoni (cf. "Das Ende des Urmonotheismus?," *Numen* 3, 1956, 156-59). See, e.g., Adolf E. Jensen, *Myth and Cult among Primitive Peoples* (originally published in German in 1951; Chicago, 1963); Josef Haeckel, "Zum heutigen Forschungsstand der historischen Ethnologie," in *Die Wiener Schule der Völkerkunde Festschrift*, eds. by J. Haeckel, A. Hohenwart-Gerlachstein, and A. Slawik (Vienna, 1956), pp. 17-90; E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Theories of Primitive Religion* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 102ff.; M. Eliade, "The History of Religions in Retrospect: 1912 and After," in his *The Quest: History and Meaning in Religion* (Chicago, 1969), pp. 23-25; M. Eliade, *Australian Religions: An Introduction* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973), pp. 13-20. See also Robert H. Lowie, *The History of Ethnological Theory* (New York, 1937), pp. 188-95; Ugo Bianchi, *Storia dell'Etnologia* (2nd revised ed.; Rome, 1971), pp. 140-51.

<sup>32</sup> Schröder, "Zur Struktur des Schamanismus," p. 852.

<sup>33</sup> See, e.g., *Ursprung* 9: 333-34; 12: 624, 717-18, where Schmidt calls the white shaman a kind of *Schauspieler*, and characterizes his "ecstatic" heavenly ascent in terms of the *schauspielerische Tätigkeit*, *schauspielerische Handlung*, or *Schauspielkunst*.

<sup>34</sup> *Ursprung* 12: 624.

<sup>35</sup> *Ursprung* 12: 696ff., 718.

<sup>36</sup> Eliade, "Recent Works on Shamanism," p. 155. See also his *Shamanism*, p. 507, n. 34.

<sup>37</sup> Eliade, "Le problème du chamanisme," p. 21. See also his "Shamanism," in *Forgotten Religions*, ed. by V. Ferm (New York, 1950), p. 302, and "Einführende Betrachtungen über den Schamanismus," p. 91.

<sup>38</sup> Paulson, "Zur Phänomenologie des Schamanismus," p. 123.

<sup>39</sup> Hultkrantz, "A Definition of Shamanism," p. 33.

<sup>40</sup> Friedrich and Buddruss, *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, p. 211.

<sup>41</sup> *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, pp. 211-12.

<sup>42</sup> *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, p. 208.

<sup>43</sup> *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, pp. 209-10.

<sup>44</sup> *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, pp. 136-37.

<sup>45</sup> *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, p. 137.

<sup>46</sup> Shirokogoroff, "Versuch einer Erforschung der Grundlagen des Schamanentums bei den Tungusen," pp. 59-60; Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, pp. 458-59, 461; Paulson, "Zur Phänomenologie des Schamanismus," pp. 123-24.

<sup>47</sup> Shirokogoroff, "Versuch," pp. 79ff.; Friedrich and Buddruss, *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, pp. 33-34.

<sup>48</sup> Friedrich and Buddruss, *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, p. 138.

<sup>49</sup> Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, pp. 477-78.

<sup>50</sup> Friedrich and Buddruss, *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, pp. 137-38. The shaman's life and death are so dependent on those of his *Tiermutter* that this spirit has sometimes been interpreted as the *Seele des Schamanen* (Harva), and sometimes as his *alter ego* (Friedrich). It is this *alter ego*, tutelary spirit, that is "animated" in the ceremony for "animating the drum." When this spirit enters a shaman, he is transformed into the spirit himself. See Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, p. 478; Friedrich and Buddruss, *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, pp. 44-48, 73-78. See also Findeisen, *Schamanentum*, pp. 29-30, 47, 49; Vajda, "Zur phaseologischen Stellung des Schamanismus," pp. 462-63.

<sup>51</sup> Leo Sternberg, "Divine Election in Primitive Religion," in *Congrès International des Américanistes, Compte-Rendu de la XXI<sup>e</sup> session, Pt. 2* (Göteborg, 1925, pp. 472-512), p. 475; Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 72-73.

<sup>52</sup> In contrast, the shaman fulfills his priestly functions only when he has to dedicate, at appointed times of the year, the soul of the sacrificed animal to the heavenly gods. In other words, the shaman's priestly function is mostly regulated in accordance with the cycle of the seasons. As to his ecstatic journey to the land of the dead as a psychopomp, it is so dangerous that he tries it only on rare occasions. See Shirokogoroff, "Versuch," p. 77.

<sup>53</sup> Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 223, drawing on Åke Ohlmarks, *Studien zum Problem des Schamanismus*, p. 184.

<sup>54</sup> We may keep in mind, in this connection, that shamanic ecstasy can take on different external appearances and exhibit various depths. As Hultkrantz has remarked, it swings "between frenzy and hilarious rapture on one hand, death-like comatose passivity on the other, and a mild inspirational light trance in between.... Shamanism is always associated with ecstasy, but the degree of this ecstasy is not fixed." Hultkrantz, "A Definition of Shamanism," p. 28. See also his "Ecological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism," pp. 41ff.

<sup>55</sup> Schröder, "Zur Struktur des Schamanismus," p. 862. According to him, shamanism as the technique of transformation embraces "not only the phenomenon of possession underestimated by Eliade, but also the heavenly journey underestimated by Schmidt." "They are," he states, "not contrasts but two aspects of one and the same reality."

<sup>56</sup> Findeisen, *Schamanentum*, p. 237.

<sup>57</sup> Shirokogoroff, "Versuch," p. 96.

<sup>58</sup> N. D. Mironov and S. M. Shirokogorov, "Śramaṇa-Shaman: Etymology of the Word 'Shaman,'" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, North-China Branch* 55 (1924), 115. See also Shirokogoroff, "Versuch," pp. 50, 55, 59-60, 94-95. Cf. also, in this connection, I. M. Lewis' intriguing interpretation of Shirokogoroff's theory on Tungus shamanism with special reference to the problem of possession, in his *Ecstatic Religion*, pp. 51-55.

<sup>59</sup> Friedrich and Buddruss, *Schamanengeschichten aus Sibirien*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>60</sup> Paulson, "Zur Phänomenologie des Schamanismus," pp. 131ff., 137ff.; "Schamanismus in Nordasien (Sibirien)," p. 97. See also Paulson's review of H. Findeisen's *Schamanentum* in *Ethnos* 24 (1959), 223-25; Findeisen's rejoinder, "Das Schamanentum als spiritistische Religion," *Ethnos* 25 (1960), 192-213; E. Stiglmayr, "Schamanismus, eine spiritistische Religion?," *Ethnos* 27 (1962), 40-48.

<sup>61</sup> Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen*, pp. 499-525; Eliade, *Shamanism*, pp. 145ff. See also Findeisen, *Schamanentum*, pp. 80-85, 86-97.

<sup>62</sup> Eliade, *Shamanism*, p. 93.

<sup>63</sup> *Shamanism*, pp. 96ff.

<sup>64</sup> Findeisen, *Schamanentum*, pp. 18ff.

## KOREAN SHAMANISM

(Review article)

B. C. A. WALRAVEN

Cho, Hung-youn, *Koreanischer Schamanismus: eine Einführung*, Wegweiser zur Völkerkunde Heft 27, Hamburg, Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde, 1982, 129 pp.;

Harvey, Youngsook Kim, *Six Korean Women: The Socialization of Shamans*, Monograph 65 of The American Ethnological Society, St. Paul/ New York/ Los Angeles/ San Francisco, West Publishing Company, 1979, xi + 326 pp.;

Huhm, Halla Pai, *Kut: Korean Shamanist Rituals*, Elizabeth N.J./ Seoul, Hollym International Corp., 1980, viii + 102 pp.;

Lee, Jung Young, *Korean Shamanistic Rituals*, Religion and Society vol. 12, The Hague/ Paris/ New York, Mouton Publishers, 1981, 249 pp.

In the writings of early Western visitors to Korea one sometimes finds statements to the effect that the people have no religion worthy of the name. Probably the oldest instance is a remark by Hendrik Hamel, the Dutch sailor who wrote the first Western description of Korea after he had spent thirteen years in the country (1653-1666) following his shipwreck on the island of Chejudo: "As for Religion, the Coresians have scarce any. The common sort make some odd Grimaces before the Idols, but pay them little respect, and the Great Ones honour them much less, because they think themselves to be something more than an idol."<sup>1</sup> Such judgements are, of course, due to the fact that religious life in Korea did not fit into the patterns of Christianity, which was considered the model of all religion. In the twentieth century this may have changed, but still Korean religions seem to resist being forced into patterns, this time the patterns of comparative religion. Korean shamanism is a case in point. Is this appellation of real comparative value? Does it refer to phenomena that should be classified together with the beliefs of Siberian hunters and nomads? Is it sensible to dissociate certain beliefs within Korean society from others, only because they are similar to shamanistic thinking elsewhere? A full answer to these questions will not only depend on the approach of the researcher, but will also have to wait for the completion of more

basic studies. Korea offers an abundance of material for the student of comparative religion, a wealth which to a large extent still awaits exploration. Until recently information in Western languages was almost non-existent. The only substantial general survey was *Religions of Old Korea*, by an American missionary, Charles Allen Clark. A revision of a series of lectures, this book is interesting but has a clear missionary bias (“The ‘Religions of Old Korea’ seem destined to pass away to make room for brighter things”).<sup>2</sup> Wilhelm Gundert devoted some space to Korean religion in his book *Japanische Religionsgeschichte*.<sup>3</sup> The fact that between 1910 and 1945 Korea was politically part of the Japanese Empire undoubtedly has contributed to the neglect of Korean history and culture in the Western world.

In the last decade several books have appeared which supply basic information. Mention should be made of *Die Religionen Koreas* by Frits Vos, a comprehensive reference work on Korean religions through the ages, with emphasis on the role of religion in Korean cultural history.<sup>4</sup> This book also contains an extensive bibliography of books and articles in Korean, Chinese, Japanese and Western languages.

The books to be discussed in some detail here, however, are not general introductions to the study of religions in Korea, but deal with those forms of popular belief which are often referred to as “shamanism”. This term is used by many authors as a convenient tag, without strict theoretical implications. Clark, for instance, admits this frankly: “The reader will have already noticed that we have used the term Shamanism to cover quite a bit more than legitimately comes under that category”.<sup>5</sup> One should also bear in mind that the use of the term “shamanism” for Korean religious phenomena dates at least from the early years of this century and was not guided by any conceptions à la Eliade.<sup>6</sup> Often the word shamanism is used without a clear indication whether it refers to an independent religion or to something more diffuse, a pattern of religious thought for instance. When it is said that shamanism has transformed and shaped—or “Koreanised”—almost all religious manifestations in Korea including Buddhism and Christianity, the latter meaning seems to be implied.<sup>7</sup>

As a first step we should briefly examine the contents of the term shamanism in Korea. From antiquity to the present, Koreans have cherished a belief that human life is influenced by a variety of invisible beings, ranging from gods and ghosts—often anthropomorphically conceived—to indistinct baleful spirits. Man should try to stay on good terms with these beings, even if they are primarily bearers of pestilence, such as the gods that cause small-pox; when their ire is raised he should try to placate them. Anyone may try his hand at this, but in serious cases the help of a specialist is called for: the person who in Korean is called *mudang*, in the majority of cases a person of the female sex. The *mudang*, with dance, song and offerings, is able to persuade the deities to grant happiness and health and save the patients who have fallen ill because of the god's displeasure. The *mudang* also comforts the souls of the dead, especially of those who because of unfulfilled desires during their lifetime are unable to leave the world of the living for the realm of the dead. The *mudang*, for instance, may arrange a marriage between the spirits of a bachelor and a virgin; every human being is entitled to matrimony, if not before then at least after death. According to a recent report, such marriages are even now not uncommon.<sup>8</sup> Only in comparatively rare cases does the *mudang* resort to threats and violence to chase away disease-causing spirits.<sup>9</sup> A different type of specialist, the *p'ansu*, not as frequently encountered as the *mudang*, mainly uses exorcistic formulae to combat evil spirits. It is interesting to note that the notions of curing people from disease by placating ghosts and by forcing them to flee exist side by side in the same society. This article, however, like the books reviewed here, will concern itself with the *mudang*.

The good relations the *mudang* enjoys with the supernatural also enable her to tell her clients' fortunes. Descriptions of this activity of the *mudang*, which in most cases is not accompanied by colourful ritual, fall outside the sphere of interest of many students of Korean shamanism. Nevertheless, in any account of the social function of the *mudang* it should be given due attention. Many *mudang* spend as much time receiving clients at home for divination and counsel, as they do performing full-scale rituals. The word counsel was deliberately added in the last sentence; in fact, the *mudang* does not just predict what inevitably will happen. She may suggest ritual to

correct the unlucky tendencies she has divined and she may also relativise the value of her own oracle. One male *mudang* told me that he advised his clients to believe not more than 50% of what he predicted. It seems justified to regard divination as a technique used by the “counsellor” to elicit responses from a client.

The focus of most of the activities of the *mudang* is the family. The majority of clients are women, who seek help not in purely personal affairs, but, for instance, for the continued existence of the family line through the birth of a male heir, the health of their children (to have them “adopted” by the *mudang* on behalf of the gods is a common way to achieve this), or the success of their husbands in business. There still are a few rituals for the well-being of whole villages, but these are on the wane. For ancient times rituals for the whole nation are recorded.

So far the reader will have noted some correspondences with proto-typical Siberian shamanism, as well as some differences. The *mudang*, like the Siberian shaman, entertains relations with spiritual beings through the media of music, dance and song. Her attitude, however, is placatory; there is no chasing of supernatural enemies ending in heroic battles, nor hunting in other realms for lost souls that have become dissociated from the body. The *mudang* does not know ecstasy—her soul is not supposed to leave her body—and consequently there can be no ascent to heaven or descent to the underworld. But at certain moments an invisible being is to take possession of her and speak through her mouth. This possession is not a prerequisite for every *mudang*; some of them—this is largely conditioned by region—inheriting their position. In these *mudang* the gods do not “descend”. It is impossible to discuss here to what extent the two types differ, but certainly their functions are highly similar, while—at least these days—both types may cooperate in one team. Another thorny problem is the exact nature of possession in Korean culture: is it accompanied by objectively recognisable physical changes, or is it rather a cultural convention? And, if the latter is true, what form does this convention take and what is its function? During rituals which I have observed, people who manifestly believe in the efficacy of such ritual (for which they spend considerable amounts of money) showed a very ambiguous attitude towards the gods and ghosts supposedly speaking through

the mouth of the *mudang*; sometimes very solemn and serious or highly emotional when confronted with the ghosts of deceased relatives, at other times the participants made jokes which seemed to betray the conviction that it was really the *mudang* and not, for instance, the voracious god Taegam, who asked that more money be offered.<sup>10</sup>

It is the life-history of the possessed *mudang* which makes it difficult to resist the temptation to compare Korean popular religion with Siberian shamanism. These *mudang* experience a “divine illness” that forces them to accept their calling. Some resist the call for a very long time, as much as twenty or thirty years, but their complaints disappear only when they submit to the will of the gods. The exacting nature of the duties of the *mudang* may be one reason for their resistance, but the very low social esteem for the *mudang*, who during the Yi-dynasty (1392-1910) belonged to the so-called “base people”, is a more important factor. (This lack of recognised social status of the *mudang* contrasts sharply with the leading role of the Siberian shaman, a role which according to Kamstra is a condition for the true shaman.<sup>11</sup>)

One example of the divine illness will have to suffice here.<sup>12</sup> A young man started work in a cigarette factory in the capital at the age of seventeen. On a December day after he had become nineteen, he suddenly fell ill while at the factory; his vision was disturbed and he could not hear even the din of the machines. The only sound he heard was a voice which said: “Come to me!”. People brought him home, where he remained ill for twenty days. He took only gruel and water and felt a revulsion when confronted with people. Finally, at ten o’clock on a snowy night, there was a voice—he did not know to whom it belonged—which told him to go to the mountains. He climbed the snowclad mountains and wandered around in ecstasy. When he returned the next morning he felt less depressed and his sight had improved. But his illness continued, even after, five days later, a *mudang* held an initiation ceremony for him. But thereafter he made offerings to the gods twice and gradually regained his health. He did not go around at random to visit people at their homes (a customary way for a *mudang* to establish a clientèle), but people hearing rumours about his initiation came of their own accord to bring offerings.

This case is rather exceptional for the swiftness with which the calling was accepted. This may have been due to a relative lack of social constraints; about this, however, we are not informed. Once a candidate accepts the calling, an established *mudang* holds a special ceremony, called *naerim kut*, literally “coming-down ritual”: a god descends to the new *mudang* to become a protector or guardian spirit. In the course of her career a *mudang* may accept several other gods as such *momju* (“masters of the body” or “personal masters”). As in the example given above, when a *naerim kut* is held, often something happens which provides an extra impetus to surrender to the will of the gods: people who have heard of the case come to the house of the candidate, asking for oracles, in the belief that at this particular time the divinatory powers of the *mudang* are at their highest. One may conclude, therefore, that the fact of possession is not without practical significance. But, in the later stages of the career of a *mudang*, once she has settled and the divine illness has passed completely, the distinction between possessed *mudang* and hereditary *mudang* seems to grow less important. As noted above, their functions are highly similar, to the extent that they can cooperate. Moreover, even some of the hereditary *mudang* let the spirits of the dead speak through their lips, although they rely on fixed formulae rather than on inspiration. Because the possessed *mudang* also employ quite a few formulae in their “inspired utterings”, in practice the difference is only one of degree. If two types of religious specialists perform by and large the same functions, does it make sense to classify one group as shamanistic and the other not? I do not want to answer this question here, for one thing because it seems that this problem should not be solved *in vacuo*, without a discussion of what it is one wants to know in the last resort. It may be that linking the possessed *mudang* with the Siberian shaman is useful for *historical* understanding. On the other hand, filing away the *mudang* as a shaman may avert one’s attention from resemblances such as exist, for instance, between contemporary practices in Japan and Korea. In Korea the *mudang* often explains misfortune as due to the wrath of a deceased relative. Rituals are then held to placate the spirit, or, from a psychological angle, to dissolve feelings of guilt the client may harbour. In Japan in recent years many Buddhist temples thrive on a cult of the so-called

“Water-babies” (*Mizugo*), souls of children who were aborted or died prematurely and show their resentment by making the living miserable.<sup>13</sup> The basic pattern of this *Mizugo*-cult, which explains misfortune as the result of the displeasure of a deceased relative and offers a method to appease the angry souls, is also found with the *mudang*, yet in one case the label is “Buddhism” and in the other “shamanism”. Within Korea, a rigid classification might deflect attention from the fact that founders of “New Religions” in many cases also undergo a kind of “divine illness”.<sup>14</sup> It also seems that a comparative approach which devotes most of its attention to parallels with shamanism in Siberia, will achieve little for the understanding of the historical dynamics of Korean religions in recent times. Korea has seen a very rapid development since the liberation from Japanese occupation in 1945 and especially since the Korean War (1950-1953).<sup>15</sup> From an agricultural country it has grown into a newly industrialised nation and this process has deeply affected Korean society, including the religious sphere. Contrary to what one might have expected, however, this has not led to a decline in the number of *mudang*. Early Japanese students of Korean shamanism (the term is used here for convenience only) maintained that it was closely linked with peasant society. At the time this seemed an absolutely safe conclusion. Circumstances that could falsify the hypothesis just did not exist. As long as one assumes a certain correspondence between the form of a society and its religion, these researchers, Akamatsu Chijō and Akiba Takashi, could not be far wrong. In the last decades, however, the *mudang* have shown that they are very well able to adapt to other circumstances. Nowadays it is in urban surroundings rather than in the countryside that one finds prominent representatives of their profession. The contents of their ceremonies have not been unaffected by modernisation. One notices a blurring of regional characteristics: in the capital of Seoul, a booming metropolis with nearly nine million inhabitants, *mudang* from different regional origins cooperate, while *mudang* teams from Seoul go down to provincial cities, where they offer competition to local *mudang* whose style is quite different.<sup>16</sup> Another change is the integration of separate ceremonies, each of which previously could last for days. Several times, for instance, in the summer of 1982 I witnessed

ceremonies starting as *Chaesu kut* ("Ritual for good-luck"), which after a few hours changed character and turned into ceremonies for the dead.

It is difficult to obtain reliable statistical material about the total number of *mudang*, but according to an organisation which represents their interests (the "Korean Believers Association to Defeat Communism"), their number is growing, and, according to some *mudang*, the number of people seeking their assistance is also increasing.

One may conclude that Korea has a vigorous tradition of popular belief with "shamanistic" traits, of a type not found in Japan—where to a certain extent Shintō and Buddhism provide functional equivalents—or in China, where many shamanistic elements seem to have been absorbed by popular Taoism. Apart from some studies by Western missionaries<sup>17</sup>, the first research in the field of Korean popular religion was done by the Koreans Yi Nūnghwa and Son Chint'ae and by Japanese such as Akamatsu and Akiba, mentioned above, and Murayama Chijun. The work of Akiba in particular offers valuable information in ample quantity.<sup>18</sup> It is a characteristic of these studies that they focus attention on the *mudang* and the traditional ritual in which she is a specialist. In this respect, these studies often show a "folkloristic" bias, although Akiba, who studied anthropology in London with Malinovski, also showed an interest in sociological problems, such as the social organisation of the *mudang*, their patterns of succession and relations with their customary patrons. Most research done since 1945 has come from Korea, with a few contributions from the United States. A new trend is the shift from the old concerns, the figure of the *mudang* and the traditional rituals, toward the study of the social function of the *mudang* and the attitudes and needs of their clientèle.<sup>19</sup>

It is the purpose of this review article to examine how four books recently published in Western languages fit into the history of the study of Korean popular religion and how they can assist those who in the course of comparative studies wish to use Korean data without being able to consult material in Korean, Japanese or Chinese.

One of the books—unfortunately the one that is most easily available—is a disaster; two of them—quite unlike each other but complementary—have great qualities and merit a wide circulation.

It is difficult to imagine how *Korean Shamanistic Rituals* by Lee Jung Young has come off the press of a publisher of some reknown. The defects are so obvious that not only its author, but also the publishers and editors of the series in which the volume has appeared should share the blame. A manuscript with one-tenth of the flaws of this product is unfit for print. A complete enumeration of errors is impossible; what follows is but a small sampling.

Apparently, the publishers no longer can afford the services of a copy-editor. A sentence like “Here Danggun Agassi is condemned by her nine brothers (...) because of her premarital sex act in a dream or fantasy, moreover due to the conception of illegitimate children” would not be left as it stands by a competent editor. The quality of the English is such that sometimes the intended meaning is the opposite of the meaning expressed. E.g., note 16 on page 147 reads: “When I was consulted by *Chōnyō mudang*”, which obviously should be “When I consulted a *Ch’ōnyō mudang*”. On page 30, “respectful” is used instead of “respected”. What reader will not feel suspicion upon seeing in the Index two gentlemen called Bulber Hulbert and Homber Hulbert (both meant to refer to Homer Hulbert)? Spelling mistakes are common: e.g., cyrinda (= cylinder!, p. 87), ancestral (p. 27), latter (= letter, p. 3) and ideologically (p. 143). “Peach” is consistently spelled “beech”, which makes one wonder if the text was conveyed to the publishers by telephone, a supposition which might also explain a considerable variation in the spelling of names. “Shan Ung” is the same as “Hwang Ung”. The father of this figure, who has the first syllable of his name in common with his son, is referred to as “Hwan In” (all on p. 16!). The son appears elsewhere as “Shang Ung” (p. 39) and “Hwang Yung” (p. 157), his father as “Hwang In” (p. 39). An editor could have improved organisation and style a great deal. The author claims to treat seven types of divination in Chapter 9, but discusses only six. Words such as “therefore” and “thus” frequently do not carry any meaning.

Unfortunately, the shortcomings of *Korean Shamanistic Rituals* do not stop here, although other mistakes are perhaps not so easy for

the general reader to spot. One notices glaring errors of fact. On page 12-13, for instance, Lee writes "... Buddhism was first introduced to Kokuryō by a Chinese monk by the name of Bu Gyun in the second year of So Sulim..." "Bu Gyun", however, was the king of the Chinese state of Ch'ien-Ch'in (and therefore his name should be read in the Chinese, not the Korean, pronunciation: Fuchien), who in 372 A.D. sent a monk called Sundo (or in Chinese: Shun-tao) to King Sosurim of Koguryō. Lee continues: "Since that time Buddhism was widely accepted by the ruling classes". If the reader does not know when Sosurim reigned (or even know that he was a king), he is left with information half of which is meaningless and half of which is erroneous. General Ch'oe Yōng (1316-1388), widely revered by the *mudang* as a god, was according to Lee a general of the Silla "dynasty". The kingdom of Silla came to an end in 935!

One more example of erroneous and meaningless information is in note 60 on p. 56, where the name "Sōkjong" is explained as follows: "Sōkjong was known as the richest man in early days". First, Lee misreads one character of the name, which is pronounced Sōk Sung in Korean (two words: family name plus personal name). Instead of the Korean reading, however, the Chinese pronunciation should be preferred (Shih Ch'ung), as the possessor of this name was a Chinese of the Chin dynasty (265-419), who in the classical literature of China and Korea frequently appears as a synecdoche of wealth and happiness. From the text to which Lee has added this note it is already obvious that Shih Ch'ung was a rich man.

The inside of the jacket of this book says: "... the author has heavily relied on oral tradition, data collected prior to World War II, and the cooperation of many shamans and shamanesses in Korea..." To rely heavily on oral tradition, extensive field work would be required. The familiarity of Lee Jung Young with Korean shamanism, however, apparently is based on vague childhood memories and a few field-trips when on leave from the American universities where he has taught. He hardly refers to personal experience, and even when he does so, as in Chapter 11, his data are mainly based on secondary material. Therefore there is little trace of "cooperation with many shamans and shamanesses". But Lee

has relied heavily indeed on data collected prior to World War II, in particularly the works of the Japanese researchers Akiba and Akamatsu, although this debt is not properly acknowledged. Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 (pp. 92-142) are on the whole simply paraphrased versions in English of parts of Akiba's *Chōsen fuzoku no genchi kenkyū* ('Field-studies in Korean Shamanism'). Lee's Chapter 5 corresponds to Akiba pp. 72-80, Chapter 6 to pp. 82-90, Chapter 7 to pp. 90-96 and Chapter 8 to p. 103 ff. and parts of a book jointly written by Akiba and Akamatsu, *Chōsen fuzoku no kenkyū* ('Studies in Korean Shamanism'), p. 195 ff. In these chapters Lee does not once refer to his sources. The reader has no way at all of knowing to which period the data presented belong. Korean society has developed rapidly and shamanism with it. Lee withholds from his readers the chance to gain an impression of the changes.

His translations from Japanese are totally unreliable. A few examples: on p. 121, "The service begins at about seven or eight o'clock" should be "The ritual lasts seven or eight hours".<sup>20</sup> "Siphwang" (which should be "Sibwang" or "Siwang", on p. 123) does not mean King of the Underworld, but—as the literal meaning of the word indicates—the Ten Kings of the Underworld, who have entered Korean folk religion from Buddhism. "Angelic spirit" (on p. 124) is a particularly unfortunate appellation for the messengers from the Underworld—also of Buddhist origin—, who, armed with chains and ropes, come to the world of the living, where they mercilessly arrest those appointed to die, unless properly bribed.<sup>21</sup> On page 122, Lee tells the reader that believers in a certain situation fear that a deceased relative still is wandering in hell. On page 151, speaking about exactly the same situation, he states that the relatives are afraid the soul is "wandering around the world". Only the latter is correct. Fear of the wrathful dead is of great importance in Korean folk beliefs. On page 118, the *mudang* prepares "a white chicken feather" for a ritual. Lee's knowledge of Japanese does not include the fact that "one feather" (*ichiwa*) is used as a counter for birds (compare "ten head of cattle" in English), the correct translation thus being "one white chicken". "Chōngsu kyōng" (p. 121) which should be spelled *Ch'ōnsu kyōng*, is not "reading from a book of thousand hands", but the *Sūtra of the Thousand Hands* (*Nilakaṇṭhaka sūtra*).

It is easy to spot the parts which Lee has copied from Japanese sources, as at the bottom of each page, he gives Chinese characters for certain terms just as they appear in the Japanese originals. In the text he has substituted Korean translations of the Japanese terms, which in many cases Koreans never write with Chinese characters or write with other characters than the Japanese.

When Lee does not confine himself to copying, he is often wrong. The death ritual that he calls *Sitch'um gut* (the usual appellation in Korean literature is *Ssikkim kut*), does not have the meaning of "the cleansing of the soul of the dead through the use of fire" (p. 122), but retains its literal meaning of "washing ritual" (from the verb *ssitkida*: to wash someone else).

Forty pages of *Korean Shamanistic Rituals* are devoted to translations of "shamanistic songs, oracles and prayers". This might have been a good contribution; next to nothing has been translated so far, except in Japanese. Again, however, the quality of the translations is so poor that no detail of the text can be trusted. Admittedly, translating these texts is difficult. The *mudang* use antiquated language and obscure terminology and have absorbed a vast array of elements from outside their own cultural sphere, from "secular" oral and written literature and from Buddhist liturgy. Intelligibility has often suffered in the process. Lee claims that the songs of the *mudang* are "neither eloquent nor refined". In fact, the texts of the *mudang* from the capital (who at the end of the last century were great favourites of the Queen) show considerable literary influences, containing phrases from Chinese poetry (e.g., the *Book of Songs*) and classical Korean poems (*siŋo*). From his translations it is clear that this fact has escaped Lee entirely.

If Lee does not understand the text, he never confesses ignorance, but without hesitation makes the wildest guesses and omits whole lines. Characteristically, he does not indicate his source. It is nevertheless clear that he has used Volume I, pp. 63-124, of Akamatsu and Akiba, *Chōsen fuzoku no kenkyū*. However, he has inserted, again without mentioning a source, a song from another collection, thirty years later than the first one. This is to fit the whole cycle of songs into a theoretical pattern (cf. p. 159), for which purpose he has also changed the original order of the songs.

A few examples should be given of misleading translations. Rituals usually start with a song in which various kinds of uncleanness (*pujŏng* in Korean) are summed up. This is rather instructive as it enables us to understand what exactly is regarded as “unclean”.

Lee translates:

The Pujŏng of great horse catches the horse  
The Pujŏng of the great cow catches the cow

(p. 41)

This should be:

Great-horse-Pujŏng due to the slaughtering of horses,  
Cow-and-horse-Pujŏng due to the slaughtering of cows

In the same song the *mudang* prays for marital bliss for her clients.

Lee:

Let this couple be like the wild geese  
And join them together with a harp string

This should be:

Let them be like a couple of mandarin ducks  
And join them in harmony like that of the dulcimer and the lute

Mandarin ducks are in the whole of the Far East symbols of conjugal love. The second line also contains a traditional simile for marital concord and can be traced to the Chinese *Book of Songs*.

On page 54 Lee translates:

Writings are hung on the wall.  
Whose writings are they?  
They were well-written.  
Are they not the handwriting of King Hi?

This should be:

The writings hung on the wall,  
Who might have written them, how well-written they are!  
Is it the manner of Tu Mu,  
Or is it the hand of Wang Hsi-chih?

Tu Mu was a famous Chinese poet (803-852); Wang Hsi-chih is the most famous of Chinese calligraphers (307-365). Lee not only omits the reference to Tu Mu, he also adds a nonsensical footnote to “King Hi”: “Hi was a king of Sila (*sic*) dynasty.”

Lee, page 68:

The heavenly wings are made of steel

The pieces of clothes are a net held together with a steel wire. What Lee translates as “heavenly wings” is indeed written with characters meaning heaven and wings, but in reality it is the ordinary appellation of a kind of gown worn by military officials. The two lines should read:

[The god] has made a cast-iron gown,  
pleated it with chains of iron wire.

Lee also translates the term *Yōngsan* more or less literally: “mountain of the dead souls”. This is most misleading; *yōngsan* is the name of the wrathful and dangerous spirits of those who have died an unnatural and violent death.<sup>22</sup>

A few examples have already been given of uninformative notes. “Lee Taebak is a man’s name that is identified with the best brand of wine” (p. 59) is another instance. The person referred to is the bibulous Chinese poet Li T’ai-po (701-762). Lee Jung Young can do still worse, however. Page 50, note 39: “Chŭksōng must be the well known general”. Chŭksōng is the name of a township in the province of Kyōnggi; a general of that name is unknown. Page 51, note 40: “Chung Chong was the ruler who lived in Kamak Mountain, which is one of the most famous mountains in Korea”. Ch’ōnch’ong (not “Chung Chong”) is not a name at all, but means “sagacious by nature”. Therefore there never was a ruler Chung Chong who lived in Kamak Mountain, for which Lee gives the erroneous characters from the Japanese translation in the text by Akamatsu and Akiba (from the context it is clear that here a mountain near Chŭksōng is meant). It is not a famous mountain. The same location appears on page 70, where Kamak is transformed into Kangak and Chung Chong into Chun Chong! These notes are a fair indication of the working method of the author. Another, in the chapter called “Ritualistic Instruments”, is the note (p. 91), that “few illustrations in this chapter are taken from *Chōsen no Mugeki*” (should be *Chōsen no fugeki*), while in fact all but one are from this book. The remaining one is from *Chōsen fuzoku no kenkyū* (plate 146).

In his last chapter, “Shamanism and Sexual Repression”, Lee attempts to “search for a fundamental motive in Korean

shamanism through a study of sexual repression''. This focus on sexual repression is rather unexpected. I suspect that Lee received his cue from a book by Melford Spiro, *Burmese Supernaturalism*, repeatedly quoted by him, in which it is argued that *one* motive for a Burmese shaman to start shamanising—a profession that is in as low esteem in Burma as in Korea—is of a sexual nature.<sup>23</sup> For Burma this may be plausible. The initiation of a shaman in that country is preceded by a spirit falling in love with the candidate and takes the form of an elaborate wedding ceremony between the new shaman and the enamored spirit. In Korea, however, the motif of sexual ties between the *mudang* and supernatural beings, although not completely absent, is not conspicuous. Lee Jung Young has had to handle his data—mainly biographical case histories of *mudang* collected by Prof. Kim T'aegon<sup>24</sup>—in a curious way in order to arrive at the conclusion that, as he phrases it, "shamanism in its essence is a process of overcoming repression, especially the repression of female sex and sexual needs, by society". In fact, he does not even try to demonstrate what is the "essence of shamanism", but only concerns himself with a relatively minor problem: that of the motives for *mudang* to start their careers. Thus the whole thesis is of limited importance. Arguments could be adduced in its favour. Lee, however, has not bothered to find those, but makes the data fit his theory. So he translates *momju*, "personal master" or "guardian deity", as "husband". Cold water, according to him, is a fertility symbol, a symbol of the woman's sex organ, and—strange combination—a symbol of the fulfilment of sexual desires if drunk by a woman. Mistranslation enables him to state that a *mudang* in a dream sees a naked man. (The woman is nearly naked—Lee omits the fact that she still wears a slip—the man, old and white-bearded is dressed in white.) It is doubtful if the following could be termed mistranslation. On page 179 Lee claims that the old man gives seven coins to the woman with the words: "Thousand love, ten thousand love, receive your health and fortune and entertain guests", while the original says: "Receive a thousand, ten thousand clients. Only then will your body be healthy and your fortune good. You have to do this because the Way of the Buddha is strong both in the family of your husband and in your own".<sup>25</sup> It would be difficult to force a sexual connotation onto these words. Another

detail in the same life history might support Lee's thesis. When the woman was eighteen she was courted by a young man who died. Lee does not tell us what is told in the original source, namely that the young man's love was unrequited, which in combination with the fact of his early death (of 'love-sickness'!) is of some interest, as death while one's wishes are yet unfulfilled is, in Korean folk belief, considered a strong motive for a ghost to remain among the living and vent his spite by causing misfortune to the objects of his wrath. The woman, indeed, after marrying someone else, became ill and often dreamed of her deceased suitor. One would like to know if this ghost became a possessing spirit of the *mudang* after her initiation, but here Lee—and his source—remain silent, which shows Lee's dependence on secondary material. In general, as far as the available evidence goes, a sexual bond between guardian deities and *mudang* is not very common. Unless one wants to acknowledge the possibility of incestuous relationships, this would also be in conflict with the fact that many *momju* are ghosts of more or less remote ancestors.<sup>26</sup>

Occasionally, the bibliography of a bad book contains good references. Of course, not all the books Lee Jung Young lists are worthless. The reader who wants to use this bibliography, however, should be able to pierce the disguises in which authors and titles are presented. Takahashi Tōru, for instance, appears as Dakabahashi Dōru, Shiratori Kurakichi as Hakutori Kurayoshi, Izumi Seiichi as Ismi Seiyichi, Im Sōkchae as Im Ch'ul Sang and A. Kinsler as A. Insler. It is obvious that Lee never has had a close look at Murayama Chijun's book *Sekiten. Kiu. Antaku* (according to Lee: *Sekizon. Kiwō. Antaku*) or he would not have translated *Sekiten*, the name of a ritual to honour Confucius, as "Sakayamuni"! The journal *Seikyū gakusō* appears as *Ahooka Gakushū*. The impression that Lee's knowledge of Korean is not as thorough as might be expected (he apparently emigrated to the United States before he had the opportunity to learn all that one may expect from an educated Korean) is confirmed by some of the translations of book titles. *Han'guk minyo chip* does not mean "Anthology of Korean Oracles", but "Anthology of Korean Folk-songs", while *pyölsoebon* means "off-print" and not "Shining Star". The bibliography, in short, is of the same quality as the rest of the book. Some may feel that the

shortcomings of *Korean Shamanistic Rituals* have been discussed in too minute detail. But if the aim, to show that the book is not fit to be used for any purpose, has been fulfilled, this tedious listing of errors will have been justified.

An excellent descriptive account of the activities of the *mudang* is found in *Koreanischer Schamanismus* by Cho Hung-youn. Although the book is short, it is highly informative and accurate. The author limits himself to the shamanism of the central provinces (around the capital of Seoul) and emphasizes traditional or “orthodox” shamanism, discussing the *mudang*, their shrines, the gods they serve, their followers and their rituals. His approach is similar to that of Akiba and other early researchers. For a student of religion, non-traditional—or from the viewpoint of tradition, “degenerated”—forms may be as important as the traditional forms that attract the folklorist, but Cho’s stress on pure tradition, explicitly stated, in no way diminishes the value of his work, even for a student with other interests. A good description of the traditional forms will always be needed as a point of departure, especially if this description has a firm empirical basis, and is not, as with Eliade, influenced by a theological ideal.<sup>27</sup> Within the narrow scope of this general introduction Cho shows first-hand knowledge that enables him to present interesting details that can be found nowhere else in the literature, whether Korean, Japanese or Western (e.g., about the classification of *mudang*). Also, in spite of his concentration on traditional shamanism, he makes valuable comments on modern developments. Lee Jung Young’s book has nothing similar; being a rehash of facts collected by others during the past sixty years, it refers only to the vague limbo of the “ethnographical present”. Cho remains constantly aware of historical change.

The nature of *Koreanischer Schamanismus* made it unavoidable that little space could be reserved for theoretical considerations. The term “shamanism” is used in a wide sense, without discussion of the problem of its applicability to the beliefs and actions of the *mudang*. Comparative perspectives in general are also lacking. The inestimable value of the book, however, is as a reliable guide for students of comparative religion. It has quite a few illustrations, photographs as well as drawings, which do much to convey the

peculiar atmosphere of the *mudang* rituals. More detailed information about Korean shamanism is available in articles by the same author in the journal of the Museum of Ethnology of Hamburg.<sup>28</sup>

*Six Korean Women* was not written as a contribution to the study of comparative religion. The author, Youngsook Kim Harvey, of Korean origin but working in the United States, is a student of psychological anthropology. She decided to study the life-histories of *mudang* for a variety of reasons. First, because she was interested in Korean "career women". One may feel surprise at this association of career women with shamans, but in traditional Korea job opportunities for women were extremely limited. Except for housewife and mother, a woman had few other choices than becoming an entertainer, a palace maiden, a female physician or a *mudang*. Among them the *mudang* probably had the greatest liberty to direct the course of her life as she wanted, although she suffered from severe social discrimination. A second reason for Harvey's interest in this topic was the importance of shamanism in Korean culture (cf. its influence on other religions), a third the problem of the mental health of shamans. It is well-known that in the literature on shamanism the question is often raised whether the shaman is a psychological deviant or recruited from the mentally unstable. Harvey concludes that a final answer cannot be given as long as the detailed life-histories of shamans of many cultures have not been collected, but her own Korean data show that, at least after their initiation, *mudang* cannot be regarded as mentally ill. She even declares that "it seems clear that the shaman role traditionally has been filled by superior women".<sup>29</sup>

The main body of *Six Korean Women* consists of detailed biographies of *mudang*; it is preceded by an introduction about the history of Korean shamanism and the circumstances of her research, and followed by an interpretative chapter and two appendices: "A Review of Selected Literature on Shamanism" (not only Korean shamanism) and "Women and Family in Traditional Korea". Harvey hardly writes about the rituals, which are the main concern of Cho Hung-youn, and confesses herself "not to [be] so much interested in shamanism as a belief system..."<sup>30</sup> She does not even really discuss the problem whether Korean shamanism can be classed as authentic shamanism at all, but only quotes a

rather inclusive definition of the term shaman by William P. Lebra, stating that it denotes a religious practitioner “who has (1) recognized supernatural powers which are used for socially approved ends and goals, and (2) the capacity to enter (and withdraw from) culturally defined trance states (i.e., spirit possession)”.<sup>31</sup> If this definition is accepted, there is indeed no reason to withhold from the *mudang* the title of shaman, although a shaman according to this definition may be quite different from the Siberian shamans who experience a cataleptic trance. In Siberia, some shamans, either during or after their séances, completely lose consciousness. This is not true of the *mudang*. One would expect this fact to be mentioned in a discussion of the psychological normalcy of the shaman. This aspect might have received some attention in the Appendix “A Review of Selected Literature on Shamanism”, which mainly deals with the psychology of shamans.

The major concern of Harvey’s book is the “divine illness” (*sinbyōng*), as is witnessed by the brief concluding chapter: “An Interpretation: Sinbyōng as a pathway out of impasse”, in which she defends her hypothesis that some women, already faced with seemingly insurmountable difficulties in their lives, find themselves in an even more desperate predicament upon being visited by a “divine illness”; but when they submit to the will of the gods by accepting the call to become *mudang*, they suddenly turn the scales and overcome their problems.

Youngsook Kim Harvey is a good observer and has written a fascinating book, which—as she rightly claims—also is a general ethnography of Korea. To understand what makes a *mudang*, what the relation is between religious experience and domestic tension, to grasp what cultural patterns direct the interpretation of several kinds of misfortune (such as the illness of the *mudang* candidate, and also the death of her relatives) as a call of the gods or a punishment for refusing to obey it, to obtain a close view of the kind of society that not only produces *mudang*, but also generates a constant demand for their services, *Six Korean Women* is invaluable.

Of course, six cases are too small a sample to draw statistically valid conclusions, as Harvey herself admits. Nevertheless, her work offers many suggestions and it drives home the truth that much of the literature so far consists of oversimplifications. One finds, for

instance, a classification of *mudang* which distinguishes one type as “*mudang* for economic reasons”, *mudang* who “are only in it for the money”.<sup>32</sup> Among the *mudang* Harvey interviewed, there is one, “Namsan Mansin”, who for twenty years suffered from mysterious illnesses, which *mudang* who were called in for help diagnosed as *sinbyŏng*. The reason Namsan Mansin finally submitted to the will of the gods, was not her physical and mental suffering, but economic distress: her family was starving. Therefore one might be inclined to classify her as a “*mudang* for economic reasons”. However, she also has the characteristics of a genuine, inspired *mudang* of the possessed type. In theory the two types seem to be quite different, in practice they may overlap and the relation between them can be very complicated. In the life history of Namsan Mansin there are indications that to a certain extent she herself provoked the final economic crisis, consciously or subconsciously. After having contributed significantly to the earnings of the family for many years, she suddenly stopped working and sat at home “staring into space for six months”. In the meantime her husband proved himself unable to feed his family. In this way the stage was set for Namsan Mansin to assume her new role.

One suspects that the mixture of a vocation through *sinbyŏng* and economic motivation is not limited to the case of Namsan Mansin. It seems doubtful if purely economic reasons ever have led a sizeable number of women to become *mudang*; even now, after the disintegration of the old class system, social discrimination against the *mudang* is very strong, while the prerequisites for a successful—and lucrative—performance of the role of *mudang* are numerous. Becoming a *mudang* certainly is not an easy and attractive way to solve economic problems.

A generalisation which is often found in the literature on Korean shamanism is the claim that the educational level of the *mudang* is extremely low. In discussing this problem, it is useful to distinguish between formal education and other, traditional forms of education. Harvey’s small sample shows interesting extremes with regard to formal education: among the women she interviewed one woman was completely illiterate, another a college graduate. From Harvey’s account it also is clear that many *mudang*, even if they hardly have attended school, possess a considerable amount of

knowledge about traditional lore and customs. It is likely that especially the *mudang* who served the female members of the royal family near the end of the Yi dynasty were far from ignorant. Harvey met a *mudang* from a *mudang* lineage which used to frequent the palace and was impressed by her gentility.

Harvey's data show that an abhorrence of sexual relations with the husband—cited by Lee as proof for his sexual repression thesis—occurs in cases in which the possessing spirits of the *mudang* definitely have no sexual bond with her. Instead, other motivations are suggested for some spirits to look for 'human support'. In one case the *momju* are a great-aunt who experienced the divine illness, but had been forced by her relatives not to submit and (therefore?) died, and another female ancestor who had been a Buddhist nun. The first spirit should—according to Korean folk belief—have strong resentments that kept her from going to the world of the dead and could be expected to have the wish to fulfil her destiny vicariously, while the nun, being unmarried, had no posterity to bring her offerings to comfort her soul.<sup>33</sup>

I. M. Lewis, in his book *Ecstatic Religion*, has tried to formulate a general theory of the religious phenomena of ecstasy and possession, according to which possession can be an instrument for socially inferior groups—e.g., women or slaves—to wrest concessions from those in power.<sup>34</sup> Since in Korea the vast majority of the clientèle of the *mudang* are women, this theory might be tested for its applicability to Korean shamanism. But, at least as regards the clients, the theory does not fit. Possession of ordinary believers hardly occurs. At a certain moment during most rituals the clients, too, may dance wearing the costumes of the *mudang* (which are the costumes of the gods the *mudang* represents); sometimes they are said to be possessed, but this possession is not used to obtain concessions. Only in certain cases of illness, supposed to be caused by spirits and therefore treated with rites, rather than with medicine, Lewis's theory might possibly apply. Such rituals, however, are also often held for men and, moreover, are not held very frequently. The existence of the whole of the cult centering around the *mudang* cannot be explained by Lewis's model.

However, as Harvey shows, there is in Korea a relation between power and possession: the *mudang* could be said to use *sinbyŏng* as a

most effective way to change the configuration of power *within the family*. If they respond to the call of the gods, they commit in fact a domestic coup d'état. Traditionally in Korea, strong hierarchic relations within the family have been the rule, with women always inferior to men. (This is expressed in the dictum that a woman should be three times obedient: first to her father, then to her husband and, if widowed, to her son.) In contrast, the *mudang* is invariably the central figure in her family. Husbands with outside occupations and independent earning power in most cases quit their jobs for shame that their wives have become *mudang*; they withdraw to their homes and take care of daily household chores and the raising of the children—women's work for which the *mudang* has neither time nor inclination. Also striking is Harvey's observation that in one *mudang* household the mother-in-law—a traditional terror for daughters-in-law—behaved to the *mudang* wife of her son as meekly and submissively as if she were an older servant of the family.

*Six Korean Women* contains a number of printing errors that might annoy someone unacquainted with *Korean Shamanistic Rituals*. These are not serious in themselves, however, and one only hopes that a reprint will offer an opportunity to correct them.

The last book to be mentioned here, *Kut: Korean Shamanist Rituals* by Halla Pai Huhm, is included mainly because some might confuse it with one of the other books reviewed here or be misled into thinking it was meant as a description of the rituals as a whole. It is devoted to the dances of the *mudang*, with only a summary description of other aspects. It contains some nice illustrations, as well as renderings in Western notation of shamanistic music and diagrams explaining the offerings to the gods, such as are not found in other works in Western languages.

Although within the span of a few years several interesting books have appeared which provide the most basic information about Korean shamanism, it is still too early to say that all aspects have been covered sufficiently. A welcome addition, for instance, would be the publication of the Ph. D. dissertation of Laurel Kendall<sup>35</sup>, who has written a study which examines the rituals more from the point of view of the client than from that of the *mudang*. Nevertheless, the situation has greatly improved in the past ten years, and

it is to be hoped that attempts will be made to place Korean shamanism in comparative perspective. Up to now, comparisons have usually been made with the shamanism of the geographically close regions of Siberia and Manchuria with their communities of nomads, hunters and gatherers. Often such comparisons have been used to support theories about the origin of the Korean people. I would like to advocate a serious examination of typological similarities between Korean shamanism and religious phenomena in societies which are closer in social structure and economic basis to Korean society, even if they are far away and have no historical connection with Korea. This may yield unexpected results. The divine illness, for instance, which in Korea always is regarded as an important link with Siberian shamanism, is also known in countries such as Burma and Vietnam.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gari Ledyard, *The Dutch Come to Korea* (Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch, Seoul) 1971, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Allen Clark, *Religions of Old Korea* (reprint: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, Seoul) 1961, p. 257. Original edition: New York, 1932.

<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Gundert, *Japanische Religionsgeschichte: Die Religionen der Japaner und Koreaner in geschichtlichen Abriss dargestellt* (Japanisch-Deutsches Kulturinstitut/D. Gundert Verlag, Tōkyō/Stuttgart) 1935.

<sup>4</sup> Frits Vos, *Die Religionen Koreas*, *Die Religionen der Menschheit* Band 22,1 (W. Kohlhammer, Stuttgart/ Berlin/ Köln/ Mainz) 1977. Vos does not discuss Korean Christianity—nowadays of considerable importance—, because this subject will be treated in the same series in a separate volume devoted to Asian Christianity.

<sup>5</sup> Clark, *Religions of Old Korea*, p. 194.

<sup>6</sup> For example in Geo. Heber Jones, "The Spirit Worship of Koreans", *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* Vol. II (Royal Asiatic Society, Seoul) 1902, pp. 37-58. For the theories of Eliade, vide Mircea Eliade, *Le Chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase* (Payot, Paris) 1951.

<sup>7</sup> One of the scholars who has stressed the influence exerted by shamanism on other beliefs is the Korean theologian and historian of religion Ryu Tong-shik. He has shown *inter alia* that the majority of patrons of Buddhist temples visit these institutions for the same reasons which move others to frequent the *mudang*; Ryu Tong-shik (Yu Tongsik), *Han'guk mugyo-ŭi yōksa-wa kujo* (Yōnse Taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, Seoul) 1975, pp. 260-266.

<sup>8</sup> Munhwa kongbobu munhwajae kwalliguk (comp.), *Han'guk minsok chonghap chosa pogosō: Kanguwōndo p'yōn* (Munhwa kongbobu, Seoul) 1977, p. 209.

<sup>9</sup> Akiba Takashi, *Chōsen fuzoku no genchi kenkyū* (Yōtokusha, Tambaichi) 1950, p. 89.

<sup>10</sup> A fascinating conversation between a spirit of the Taegam type and a believer is found in Laurel Kendall, "Caught Between Ancestors and Spirits", *Korea Journal* Vol. XVIII, 8 (Korean National Commission for Unesco, Seoul) 1977, p. 16.

<sup>11</sup> Jacques H. Kamstra, *Encounter or Syncretism: The Initial Growth of Japanese Buddhism* (Brill, Leiden) 1967, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> Akiba, *Chōsen fuzoku no genchi kenkyū*, p. 55.

<sup>13</sup> Mary Picone of Oxford University read a paper on this subject entitled "Contemporary Japanese Cults of the Dead: Mizugo Spirits and Irrationalism" at the Third International Conference of the European Association for Japanese Studies, held in The Hague, Sept. 20-23, 1982.

<sup>14</sup> *Han'guk minsok chonghap chosa pogosō: Kangwōndo p'yŏn*, p. 237: T'ak Myōnghwan, *Han'guk sinhūng chonggyo yōgyojudŭr-ūi sangt'ae*, *Munhwa illyuhak* IV (Han'guk munhwa illyuhakhoe, Seoul) 1971, pp. 115-133. For the New Religions, cf. Vos, *Die Religionen Koreas*, pp. 189-217. Hori Ichirō has drawn attention to shamanistic traits in the founders of Japanese New Religions: "Penetration of Shamanic Elements into the History of Japanese Folk Religions", in E. Haberland (ed.), *Festschrift for Adolf Jensen*, (Munich) 1964, p. 251.

<sup>15</sup> In this review article "Korea", if used for the period after 1945, stands for the Republic of Korea ("South Korea"). Data about the situation in the North are too scarce for a meaningful discussion.

<sup>16</sup> One male *mudang* (*paksu mudang*) I interviewed in July 1982 within one month had performed in Seoul, where he lived, as well as in Kwangju in the province of Chōlla and in the city of Pusan.

<sup>17</sup> E.g., Clark and Jones; cf. notes 2 and 6.

<sup>18</sup> Akamatsu and Akiba wrote in cooperation a very important work in two volumes: Akamatsu Chijō & Akiba Takashi, *Chōsen fuzoku no kenkyū* (Ōsakayago shoten, Seoul) 1937-1938. Full references to other works by these researchers can be found in the bibliography of Vos, *Die Religionen Koreas*.

<sup>19</sup> E.g., a Ph. D. dissertation by Laurel M. Kendall, *Restless Spirits: Shaman and Housewife in Korean Ritual Life*, Columbia University, 1979. Cf. also Roger L. Janelli & Dawnhee Yim Janelli, "The Functional Value of Ignorance at a Korean Séance", *Asian Folklore Studies* Vol. XXXVIII, 1 (Nanzan University Institute of Anthropology, Nagoya) 1979, pp. 81-90.

<sup>20</sup> Akiba, *Chōsen fuzoku no genchi kenkyū*, p. 90.

<sup>21</sup> They may be fooled, however, into taking a straw doll with them instead of a person. Cf. Kendall, "Caught Between Ancestors and Spirits", p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> This is explained in several basic works on Korean shamanism; e.g., Kim T'aegon, *Han'guk muga chip* (Wŏn'gwang Taehak Minsokhak Yŏn'guso, Iri) 1971, p. 52, from which Lee has taken one song to translate, the "Hymn of Sŏngju".

<sup>23</sup> Melford Spiro, *Burmese Supernaturalism* (Prentice Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J.), 1967. Of course the idea of a mystic sexual union is often discussed in literature on Siberian shamanism (Cf. L. Krader, "Shamanism: Theory and History in Buryat Society", in V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál, *Shamanism in Siberia* (Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest) 1978, p. 213), but there is no indication that Lee has consulted this material.

<sup>24</sup> These case histories have been re-published in Kim T'aegon, *Han'guk musok yŏn'gu* (Chimmundang, Seoul) 1981, but were available in periodicals much earlier.

<sup>25</sup> Kim T'aegon, *Han'guk musok yŏn'gu*, p. 215. The *mudang* often identify the "Way of the Buddha" with their own cult, which has incorporated many elements from Buddhism.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. one of the other books to be reviewed here: Harvey, *Six Korean Women*, p. 238.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. James Gabriel Campbell, "Approaches to the Study of Shamanism", *Wiener Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen* Bd. 17/18 (Wien) 1975-1976, pp. 61-93, esp. pp. 67-68.

<sup>28</sup> Cho Hung-youn, "Zum Problem der sogenannten Yöltugöri des Chönsin-kut im Koreanischen Schamanismus", *Mitteilung aus dem Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde* Bd. 10 (Hamburg) 1980, pp. 77-107; Cho Hung-youn, "Die Initiationszeremonie im Koreanischen Shamanismus", *Mitteilung aus dem Hamburgischen Museum für Völkerkunde* Bd. 11 (Hamburg) 1981, pp. 77-103.

<sup>29</sup> Harvey, *Six Korean Women*, p. 236.

<sup>30</sup> Harvey, *Six Korean Women*, p. 22.

<sup>31</sup> Harvey, *Six Korean Women*, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Akiba, *Chōsen fuzoku no genchi kenkyū*, p. 48.

<sup>33</sup> Harvey, *Six Korean Women*, pp. 109-110.

<sup>34</sup> I. M. Lewis, *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth) 1971.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. note 19.

<sup>36</sup> For Burma see Spiro, *Burmese Supernaturalism*, where, interestingly, it is stated that shamanism flourishes in urban surroundings (pp. 207-208), as in Korea. For Vietnam see Maurice Durand, *Technique et Panthéon des Mediums Viêtnameiens (Đông)* (Ecole Française D'Extreme Orient, Paris) 1959.

## LEXIKON DES MITTELALTERS—I: ISLAM

(Review article)

P. SJ. VAN KONINGSVELD

*Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Erster Band, 2110 col. (Oct. 1977-Nov. 1980): *Aachen-Bettelordenskirchen*. Zweiter Band (May 1981-...), 896 col. published so far (last issue received by the present reviewer is Ablieferung nr. 4, publ. May 1982): *Bettlerwesen-Buckingham*. Edited by a number of leading medievalists. München and Zürich. Artemis Verlag.

The *Lexikon des Mittelalters* covers all aspects of the history of the European Middle Ages, viz. the period between 300 and 1500 A.D. It will consist of 5 volumes of 1128 pages each, followed by separate indexes. In view of the present stage of publication its completion may be expected in the early nineties. In order to assess the value of this undoubtedly fundamental reference-work for the historian of religion, we will approach its contents from three separate viewpoints, viz. from those of the historian of Islam, Judaism and Christianity. In the present review a comparison will be drawn between the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* and the (2nd edition of) *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the leading reference-work of Islamic studies. In two future reviews, to be published in accordance with the progress of its publication, the *Lexikon* will be evaluated for Jewish (II) and Christian scholarship (III).

In the editorial preface to be found on pp. IX-XII of the 10th fascicle of Band I (November 1980) the scope of the *Lexikon* is explained in the following words: 'Ein Hauptproblem bei der Konzeption des Werkes stellte die räumliche und zeitliche Festlegung dar, da die Vorstellungen von Dauer und Geltungsbereich des traditionellen Epochenbegriffs 'Mittelalter' erheblich differieren. Fraglos war der Schwerpunkt der Darstellung auf das europäische Mittelalter zu legen. Innerhalb des europäischen Mittelalters stehen zwar die gut erforschten Regionen Mittel-, West- und Süd-europas im Zentrum, doch wurde auch ausführlich auf die Geschichte der—geographisch gesehen—'am Rande Europas' liegen-

den Regionen eingegangen. Ebenso konnte auf eine Einbeziehung der Nachbarkulturen des 'lateinischen' Europas—das Byzantinische Reich, die arabisch-islamischen Reiche und das Osmanische Reich (bis zum frühen 16. Jahrhundert)—nicht verzichtet werden; schon aufgrund der grossen Leistungen der byzantinischen und der islamischen Welt, die den mittelalterlichen Okzident nachhaltig prägten, waren diese Kulturen in die Darstellung einzubeziehen. Ebenso ist die Geschichte des mittelalterlichen europäischen Judentums fester Bestandteil des Lexikons. Konnten die aussereuropäischen Kulturen aus konzeptionellen wie umfangmässigen Erwägungen nicht berücksichtigt werden, so sind doch die jeweiligen Beziehungen zwischen dem mittelalterlichen Europa und den ausser-europäischen Regionen sowie die geographischen Kenntnisse der Europäer über diese Gebiete und Kulturen—bis hin zu den frühneuzeitlichen Entdeckungsfahrten—in die lexikographische Darstellung einbezogen'' (S.XI). In accordance with this definition of the scope of the *Lexikon* we find among the impressive list of the members of the Editorial Board also some renowned scholars from the world of Islamic studies, viz. Josef van Ess from Tübingen (for the Arabic world) and Andreas Tietze from Vienna (for the history of the Ottomans). To these should be added in this review the names of a few other members of the editorial board supervising fields that are closely related to Islamic studies, viz. Jonathan Riley-Smith from London (for the history of the Crusades), Emilio Sáez from Barcelona (for the history of the Iberian Peninsula) and Heinrich Schipperges from Heidelberg (for the history of medicine). The high standard of the *Lexikon* in general, to which the articles related to Islam make no exception, no doubt is due both to the influence of these and many other members of the editorial board and, not in the last place of course, to the fully qualified authors they have been able to involve in this project.

In comparison with the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (*E.I.*<sup>2</sup>) the Islamic materials of the *Lexikon* (in the broadest sense of the word) can be classified into 4 groups:

(1) Articles that may be considered mainly as extracts from materials to be found in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, to which little or no significant information was added. These articles are of course still of some use for the general medievalist who does not have the *E.I.* at his immediate

disposal. Examples (chosen at random) are: *Ayyûbiden* (by A. Noth, cf. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Ayyûbids* by Cl. Cahen); *Banû di 'n-Nûn* (by H. R. Singer, of *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Dhû 'l-Nûnids* by D. M. Dunlop); *Beschneidung 2. Islam* (by J. van Ess, cf. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *al-Khitân* by A. J. Wensinck); *Buchstabensymbolik III. Islam* (by W. Madelung, cf. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Hurûf, 'Ilm al-* by T. Fahd). Needless to say that the authors usually duly refer to the corresponding articles in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>. I counted some 50 articles within this category in the published fascicles of the *Lexikon* at my disposal.

(2) Articles in which materials of *E.I.* were extracted, but containing important new information not found in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> at the same time. These articles are important both for medievalists in general and for specialists in the fields of Islamic studies. Some examples (chosen at random) are: 1. *Avenzoar* (by H. H. Lauer, cf. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Ibn Zuhr nr. IV* by R. Arnaldez); 2. *Averroes, Averroismus* (by G. C. Anawati and L. Hödl, cf. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Ibn Rushd* by R. Arnaldez); 3. *Botenwesen. II. Islamischer Bereich. 1. Arabisches Reich und seine Nachfolgestaaten, Mongolen* (by S. Labib, cf. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *al-Barîd* by D. Sourdél; the other articles of Labib are of the same exceptional quality, cf. e.g. his contribution to the article *Buchhaltung. Islamischer Bereich*, which adds substantially to the article *daftar* of B. Lewis in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>); 4. *Badajoz* (by F. Fernández Serrano, cf. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> s.v. *Batalyaw* by C. F. Seybold/A. Huici-Miranda). I counted some 40 articles falling within this category of my classification.

(3) The *Lexikon*, however, also contains numerous articles related to Islam, *not* to be found in the volumes of the 2nd ed. of *E.I.* published so far. These articles are, of course, of great help for all scholars, including the islamologists. The fields covered by these articles can be roughly divided into 4 sections, viz:

(a) the Muslim history of the Iberian Peninsula (e.g. articles by H. R. Singer like *Banu Razîn*, *Banû Şumâdiḥ* etc.; by Th. F. Glick s.v. *Bewässerung*, etc.).

(b) the history of Muslim-Christian relations, especially in connection with the Crusades (e.g. articles of J. S. C. Riley-Smith s.v. *Baron. V. Königreich Jerusalem; Balduin I, II, III, IV*, kings of Jerusalem, by S. Schein, etc.);

(c) aspects of early Ottoman history (e.g. articles by B. Flemming s.v. *Ayḍin Oğulları*; by P. Kappert s.v. *Borklüge, Muştafâ*, etc.);

(d) islamological contributions to general subjects (e.g. by C. E. Bosworth s.v. *Bettlerwesen. Islamische Welt*; by C. Cahen and A. Tietze, s.v. *Bevölkerung. E. Islamische Welt*, etc.).

Within this category I counted some 75 contributions.

(4) Articles which may be considered as complementary to the materials of *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, as e.g. the article *Bosnien* by S. Ćerković which gives the history of Bosnia up till and including the Turkish conquest in 1463, while the article *Bosna* in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> by Branislav Djurdjev describes Bosnian history from the Turkish occupation and onwards. The same holds true for articles on other places and areas which alternately fell under Christian and Muslim rule (cf. e.g. *Bosporus* by F. Hild and *Boghaz-Içi* in *E.I.*<sup>2</sup> by V. J. Parry). I counted some 20 examples within this category.

Apart from the aforementioned 4 categories there are, of course, many other articles in the *Lexikon* which deserve the attention of islamologists, especially when they are dealing with phenomena shared by the tradition and heritage of Christianity, Judaism and Islam. To mention only one example: the article *Böser Blick* (by H. H. Lauer) contains very important materials for a comparison with the concepts and customs related to the *Evil Eye* in the world of Islam (cf. *E.I.*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *ʿAyn*, art. by Ph. Marçais).

In conclusion: the *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, though primarily a reference-work for students of European medieval history, can be of great use to islamologists as well, in particular to those who specialize in the Legacy of Islam to European civilization, the history of interreligious relations between Christianity and Islam, the history of the Iberian Peninsula, and the pre-Islamic and early Islamic history of the Ottoman Empire. The Editorial Board and the Artemis Verlag are to be congratulated with the appearance of this monumental work. Let us hope that its publication will continue with the same regularity and the same uncompromising quality.

## LES PRIERES HITTITES

(A propos d'une récente monographie)

(*Review article*)

GALINA KELLERMAN

Les prières hittites, à la différence des prières dans les grandes religions modernes, sont des oeuvres personnelles dont les auteurs, rois et aristocrates, nous sont généralement connus et dont la création était toujours inspirée par un besoin ou un problème spécifique. En même temps, on composait les prières selon des modèles établis, et les scribes qui consignaient par écrit les prières sur des tablettes d'argile (pour les déposer ensuite dans le temple de la divinité implorée) utilisaient des clichés et des passages entiers empruntés à d'autres prières, sans trop de scrupules.

Grâce à ces circonstances, les prières forment peut-être le genre le plus intéressant de la littérature religieuse hittite. Il est donc naturel qu'elles continuent à susciter l'intérêt des hittitologues, comme en témoignent plusieurs publications récentes.

Une de ces publications est la monographie du hittitologue belge René Lebrun, intitulée "Hymnes et prières hittites", qui fait partie de la collection "Homo religiosus" publiée depuis 1978 par le Centre d'histoire des religions de Louvain-la-Neuve et consacrée aux problèmes fondamentaux des grandes religions<sup>1</sup>.

Cet ouvrage volumineux, destiné aux hittitologues ainsi qu'au large public s'intéressant à l'histoire des religions, s'est donné une tâche audacieuse et difficile — celle de présenter une édition philologique moderne de la quasi-totalité des prières hittites (les hymnes font généralement partie des prières) et d'en faire une analyse théologique et anthropologique.

La première partie du livre portant le titre "La religion hittite et ses problèmes" (pp. 15-79) initie le lecteur à la civilisation et à la religion hittite. Elle comprend cinq chapitres qui décrivent dans leurs grandes lignes la géographie, la composition ethnique et l'his-

toire de l'Etat hittite, ainsi que son panthéon, sa théologie et ses temples.

Cet aperçu, au style vif et clair, fournit au lecteur beaucoup de renseignements indispensables pour comprendre les prières hittites. Il sera surtout utile au lecteur francophone car les ouvrages généraux traitant de ces questions sont presque tous en anglais ou en allemand<sup>2</sup>. D'ailleurs, certains aspects des conceptions religieuses des Hittites sont présentés avec plus d'élaboration que dans d'autres ouvrages généraux.

Il faut cependant noter que cet aperçu manque parfois de précision. En voici quelques commentaires.

1. Selon M. Lebrun (pp. 21 et 26-27), le futur noyau de l'Etat hittite (c'est-à-dire la région à l'intérieur de la courbe d'Halys) aurait été habité par une population homogène, les Hattis, au moins à partir du 7<sup>ème</sup> mill. av. n.è. et les fameux sites de Çatal Höyük et de Hacilar appartiendraient déjà à la civilisation des Hattis!

En réalité, aucun fait concernant des mouvements ethniques ou l'attribution d'une telle culture à un tel peuple à l'époque préhistorique en Anatolie n'a été établi avec certitude et n'a été unanimement reconnu. Mais si l'appartenance ethnique de certaines cultures du 3<sup>ème</sup> mill., comme par ex. celle des tombes royales d'Alaca Höyük, au moins fait l'objet de discussions, rien ne peut être affirmé au sujet de l'appartenance ethnique des cultures du 7<sup>ème</sup> au 4<sup>ème</sup> mill. av. n.è.<sup>3</sup>.

2. La chronologie de l'époque est présentée d'une manière confuse. L'auteur ne mentionne nulle part que cinq systèmes chronologiques différents ont été appliqués par différents chercheurs à l'histoire de l'Ancien Orient de la première moitié du 2<sup>ème</sup> mill. av. n.è.<sup>4</sup>. En outre, ses propres indications chronologiques ne sont pas cohérentes. Ainsi, à la page 70, il date le règne d'Anitta de 1700 (plus bas que selon la "chronologie courte"<sup>5</sup>) et le règne de Hattushili I de 1600 (plus haut que selon la "chronologie courte"), mais à la page 29 il place le roi Telibinu, séparé de Hattushili I par cinq autres règnes, au 16<sup>ème</sup> siècle (selon la "chronologie longue" ou "moyenne"<sup>6</sup>). Enfin, il date l'accession de Shuppiluliuma de 1400 au lieu de 1385-80<sup>7</sup>.

3. En parlant de la période entre 1500 et 1400 av. n.è., M. Lebrun remarque que c'est une "période obscure" et que "la reconstitution des événements ... suscite toujours de nombreuses controverses parmi les spécialistes" (p. 30). Or, il aurait fallu expliquer aux lecteurs que ces controverses résultent de nouveaux développements en hittitologie. Le terme "période obscure" n'est désormais applicable qu'aux quelques décennies qui ont suivi le règne de Telibinu, quoique il y a un certain progrès aussi dans notre connaissance de ce laps de temps<sup>8</sup>. Quant à la période englobant 1450-1380 av. n.è., plusieurs textes historiques et administratifs ont été redatés et attribués à cette époque dans les quinze dernières années, de sorte qu'elle s'est enrichie de contenu historique<sup>9</sup>.

4. M. Lebrun attribue, quoique avec un point d'interrogation, aux "peuples de la mer" l'anéantissement de l'Empire hittite. C'est un point de vue traditionnel qui a été modifié dans les dernières années, grâce aux nouveaux textes d'Ugarit et grâce à une nouvelle interprétation des sources hittites et égyptiennes relevantes. Selon la nouvelle conception, le rôle des "peuples de la mer" dans la dissolution de l'Empire hittite était plutôt secondaire. C'étaient des dissensions à la cour royale et des désordres dans la capitale pendant les règnes des deux derniers rois (Arnuwanda III et Shuppiluliyama II), d'une part, et la famine sévissant dans la métropole pendant les dernières années de l'Empire, d'autre part, qui ont sapé les mécanismes étatiques. Shuppiluliyama a résisté pendant un certain temps grâce à l'aide des vassaux syriens. Mais quand les hordes de pirates que nous appelons traditionnellement "peuples de la mer" ont envahi la côte de la Syrie du Nord et privé la métropole de cette aide, l'Empire s'écroula. Il est probable qu'au nord et au centre du pays les tribus des Gashga, ennemis invétérés des Hittites, ont profité de la crise pour ravager la capitale<sup>10</sup>.

5. En parlant de l'époque qui a suivi l'anéantissement de l'Empire hittite et qui s'est achevée par l'extinction des peuples de souche hittito-louvite, M. Lebrun omet quelques faits importants. Ainsi, il écrit que les royaumes néo-hittites qui ont existé du 9<sup>ème</sup> au 7<sup>ème</sup> siècle av. n.è. ne furent guère importants au point de vue politique, et c'est "le renouveau de la puissance assyro-babylonienne" qui leur "porta le coup de grâce" (p. 34). Or, l'existence de Karkemisch et de Melid, au moins, est attestée déjà

environ 1100 av. n.è. M. Lebrun aurait dû mentionner que pendant deux siècles les royaumes néo-hittites ont résisté à plusieurs reprises à l'agression et aux aspirations expansionnistes des Assyriens<sup>11</sup>. Il aurait dû mentionner aussi les Phéniciens et surtout les Araméens qui ont joué un si grand rôle dans l'histoire et la culture de la Syrie du 1er mill. av. n.è. Enfin, faudrait-il mentionner, au moins, un autre peuple anatolien du 1er mill. av. n.è. — les Lydiens<sup>12</sup>.

6. A la page 40, l'auteur parle des divinités-protectrices des villes Karahna, Zithariya, Karzi, Hubataliya.

Il existe en effet une ville Karahna et son dieu-protecteur. Il existe aussi une ville Zithara (sic!) et son dieu Zithariya. Par contre, des villes nommées Karzi et Hubataliya ne sont pas attestées, mais des divinités Karzi et Hapantalli(ya) (sic!) existent et font partie du panthéon de Hattusha. D'ailleurs, Zithariya, Karzi et Hapantalli(ya) sont nommés à côté des dieux-protecteurs dans quelques listes de dieux<sup>13</sup>.

7. A la page 53, M. Lebrun écrit que Telibinu était le dieu du grain dans le panthéon hattî, que son équivalent hittite est Halki et son équivalent hourrite - Kumarbi.

En effet, selon un mythe anatolien, le dieu Telibinu a des activités d'agriculteur. Il n'est cependant pas un dieu du grain, mais un des dieux de l'orage qui a aussi les traits d'un dieu de la végétation. Telibinu est un dieu d'origine hattie qui appartient au panthéon hittite et n'a pas d'équivalent nésite, hourrite ou mésopotamien. Quant à l'équivalent hattî de Halki, c'est la déesse Kait<sup>14</sup>.

8. Selon M. Lebrun, le sumérogramme <sup>d</sup>ZA.BA<sub>4</sub>.BA<sub>4</sub> (un dieu de la guerre) aurait des lectures différentes selon les foyers religieux différents. La dénomination hattie en serait Wurunkatte, d'autres, plus fréquentes, seraient Hashamili, Yarri et Zappana (en hittite/louvite) (p. 51).

Si pourtant on s'appuie sur les textes, on verra que le logogramme ZABABA n'a qu'une lecture dans les textes hittites, notamment Wurunkatte (le nom hattî). Quant à Hashamili, c'est aussi un nom hattî qui, par conséquent, ne peut pas servir de lecture pour ZABABA. Dans un traité il est en effet associé avec ZABABA, Yarri et Zappana, mais il n'est pas, à proprement parler, un dieu de la guerre, quoique ses dons de rendre les gens invisi-

bles ont été appréciés par l'armée hittite<sup>15</sup>. Yarri est un dieu louvite de la guerre et de la peste, adopté dans le panthéon hittite et dont l'image remonte probablement au dieu mésopotamien Erra (<sup>d</sup>IR-RA). Enfin, Zappana est apparemment une divinité de la guerre, associée avec Yarri dans quelques traités, mais son origine n'est point connue<sup>16</sup>.

9. M. Lebrun décrit comment les Hittites s'imaginaient la vie de leurs dieux. Les dieux célestes habiteraient chacun sa planète et viendraient occasionnellement sur la terre, dans leurs temples respectifs, attirés par les supplications des hommes (pp. 56sq). Cette description s'appuie évidemment sur quelques textes, surtout sur le texte de la prière de Murshili II à Telibinu (publié par Lebrun, pp. 180sq). En même temps, les Hittites croyaient certainement que les dieux sont constamment présents dans leurs temples sous forme de statues ou de symboles. La désertion d'un dieu quelconque de son temple aboutissait immédiatement à l'anéantissement de l'ordre cosmique, au chaos, comme on le voit dans les mythes anatoliens sur la disparition de différents dieux. Dans le cas où on croyait qu'une telle disparition avait lieu, on utilisait des techniques combinant récitations, supplications, opérations magiques et offrandes pour faire revenir le dieu disparu. Il faut aussi prendre en considération que chaque temple bâti par les Hittites à leurs dieux a été magiquement identifié avec le temple primordial, une demeure de dieu(x) bâtie par les dieux eux-mêmes, et que par conséquent il n'y avait pas de dédoublement du domicile divin: le temple à tel ou tel dieu dans tel endroit était *en même temps* le domicile céleste de ce dieu<sup>17</sup>. Ces conceptions sont similaires aux conceptions mésopotamiennes. Il suffit de se souvenir des désastres qui accompagnent la désertion de Marduk de son temple et de sa statue dans l'Épopée d'Erra<sup>18</sup>. Nous croyons donc que la prière de Murshili II à Telibinu et d'autres textes pareils servaient surtout de mesure de précaution contre une disparition éventuelle de tel ou tel dieu.

10. M. Lebrun présume que les parois rocheuses du sanctuaire de Yazilikaya représentaient le corps même du dieu Pirwa qu'il définit comme "rocher divinisé" (p. 78 et note 113).

Le nom de la divinité Pirwa (ou Perwa) peut être en effet étymologiquement lié au nom hittite de "rocher" <sup>na4</sup>*peruna-piruna-*, mais cette étymologie n'explique rien en ce qui concerne l'image de

Pirwa à l'époque historique. Pirwa, connu par les textes et l'iconographie, est une divinité bisexuée, à cheval, une sorte d'Ishtar équestre, qui n'est aucunement liée aux rochers<sup>19</sup>.

La deuxième partie du livre — la partie centrale —, intitulée “Les hymnes et les prières hittites” (pp. 83-409), contient les translitérations et les traductions de toutes les grandes prières et d'un hymne à Ishtar, ainsi que celles de quelques prières conservées en partie et de fragments. Le commentaire de chaque prière comprend des notes philologiques et une analyse du contenu.

La plupart des textes publiés par M. Lebrun ont déjà été publiés antérieurement. Cependant, ses présentations de textes contiennent parfois des erreurs philologiques regrettables. Nous analyserons, à titre d'exemple, la présentation par M. Lebrun de la fameuse prière du roi Muwatalli au dieu de l'orage *pihaššašši*. Il faut préciser que ce texte n'avait pas d'édition philologique moderne, mais il existe une traduction en anglais de Goetze (ANET: 397-399), et la grande liste des dieux est citée par Garstang et Gurney (1959: 116-119).

1. La contribution importante d'Otten et de Rüster (1975: 242-243), notamment la publication du “join” 1111/z, est omise dans la bibliographie pour ce texte.

2. La présentation du texte qui existe en trois exemplaires ne suit pas rigoureusement les règles de publication d'un texte cunéiforme: les lectures des variantes ne sont pas toujours marquées; quelquefois le texte B est préféré à A sans aucune indication particulière; les crochets et les parenthèses sont souvent déplacés.

3. La translitération n'est pas sans fautes, p. ex. *İR-KA* au lieu de UR. SAG (A I 2); *hu-u-da-ak-ku-az* au lieu de *hu-u-da-ak-ma-az* (A I 21); *EME-az* au lieu de *KAxU-az* (A I 31); *EN<sup>meš</sup>-wa-an* au lieu de *EN<sup>meš</sup> GEŠTU-an* (A I 26); *dIŠTAR* au lieu de *dIŠTAR LÍL* (A I 43); *uruEl-la-ya* au lieu de *uruIl-la-ya* (AII 20, 21); *ku-e-da-aš ar-ku-u-un-eš-ni* au lieu de *ku-e-da-ni ar-ku-u-e-eš-ni* (A III 22); *EGIR-pa-az-pát* au lieu de *EGIR-pa AŠ-BAT* (A III 41); *ta-iz-zi 2 GUNNI* au lieu de *ŠA GIŠ<sup>SI</sup> 2 GUNNI* (A IV 59); *šal-li-ya-an-zi* au lieu de *wali-ya-an-zi* (B IV 28).

4. La traduction est généralement bonne, quoique un peu trop littéraire et libre. On remarque des phrases et des expressions identiques du texte hittite rendus différemment dans des endroits diffé-

rents. En voici un exemple. La phrase A I 2-4 est traduite à la page 256: “Si une parole pèse sur un individu, il adresse sa plaidoirie aux dieux”. La même phrase est traduite à la page 273 ainsi: “Si pour un individu, quelque parole devient pénible, il se justifiera devant les dieux”. L’expression *ANA DINGIR<sup>meš</sup> arkuwar DÜ/iya-* est donc traduite soit comme “adresser sa plaidoirie aux dieux”, soit comme “se justifier devant les dieux”. Plus loin, cette même expression est rendue dans A I 27-28 comme: “adresser (les paroles) en guise d’excuse aux dieux” (p. 274) et dans A III 38-39 comme: “présenter (les paroles) aux dieux comme plaidoirie” (p. 281).

En plus des libertés stylistiques qui éloignent le lecteur des sources hittites, la traduction contient aussi des fautes dues, dans certains cas, à une translittération erronée, et dans d’autres, à une interprétation incorrecte du texte hittite. Nous en donnerons deux exemples<sup>20</sup>.

Le passage A III 20-25 est traduit: “Soleil du ciel, mon maître, en ce jour-ci fais bouger les dieux que j’ai appelés aujourd’hui de ma propre voix pour leur adresser une plaidoirie. Soleil du ciel, appelle-les depuis le ciel, les montagnes, les rivières, leurs temples, leurs tabourets” (p. 280) au lieu de: “Soleil du ciel, mon maître, en ce jour-ci éveille les dieux! Les dieux que j’ai appelés de ma langue en ce jour-ci pour une plaidoirie quelconque, appelle-les, o Soleil du ciel, du ciel, de la terre, des montagnes, des rivières, de leurs temples, de leurs sièges!”<sup>21</sup>

Le passage A III 45-47 est traduit: “Lorsque les dieux entendent mes paroles, les dieux corrigeront leur point de vue en ma faveur et feront triompher ce qui (est) une mauvaise parole dans mon/leur? esprit” (p. 281) au lieu de: “Lorsque les dieux entendent mes paroles, ils transformeront en bien et ennobliront le mal qui est dans mon âme”.

5. Le commentaire philologique est assez bref et reflète quelquefois un certain manque de soin (cf. par ex. la translittération de la ligne A I 8 à la page 257 et le commentaire de cette même ligne à la page 285). Par contre, l’analyse du contenu de la prière et de sa structure qui suit le commentaire philologique est claire, bien présentée et informative.

La troisième et dernière partie du livre, intitulée “Théologie et anthropologie dans la prière hittite” (pp. 411-460), est une étude analytique des prières hittites. M. Lebrun donne d’abord un aperçu détaillé de la terminologie des prières et parle de ses auteurs connus (ch. I). Ensuite il procède à un classement de prières par genres (ch. II). Son mérite est d’avoir dressé un catalogue de prières qui énumère, en plus des prières proprement dites, des textes comportant des éléments de prières et des textes qui font mention de prières. Enfin, l’auteur analyse la morale des Hittites et leurs orientations théologiques qui se révèlent dans leurs prières (ch. III.). Dans ce chapitre, M. Lebrun donne des définitions originales et intelligentes des attitudes des Hittites envers leurs dieux et du changement graduel dans ces attitudes qu’on perçoit à travers les prières présentées dans l’ordre chronologique. L’auteur fait aussi des comparaisons avec d’autres civilisations de l’antiquité et surtout avec la civilisation romaine.

Malgré des imperfections philologiques, le livre de René Lebrun est un ouvrage important et intelligent, indispensable à tous ceux qui s’intéressent au phénomène de la prière.

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<sup>1</sup> 1980, 500 p. FB 1.100. Voir aussi Christmann-Franck 1979; Güterbock 1980; Sørenhagen 1981.

<sup>2</sup> Voir Gurney 1954; Goetze 1957; Otten 1961; Otten 1966; Cornelius 1973; Macqueen 1975; Mellaart 1978; Bittel 1970; Alkim 1969; Bittel 1976; Lehmann 1977; Gurney 1977; Otten 1964; von Schuler 1965; Güterbock 1978.

<sup>3</sup> Voir Mellaart 1969, 1970, 1971; Crossland 1971; Mellink 1965; Macqueen 1975: 9-36; Yakar 1976 (avec bibl.) et 1981; Mellaart 1981; Singer 1981.

<sup>4</sup> Pour ce problème en général, voir Tadmor 1970; pour la chronologie hittite, voir surtout Otten 1968. Actuellement, la plupart des assyriologues et hittitologues acceptent la “chronologie moyenne” (la 1ère dynastie babylonienne: 1894-1595 av. n.è.) Récemment, v. Mellaart a proposé un retour à la “chronologie très longue” (la 1ère dynastie babylonienne: 2032-1738 av. n.è.) à la base de nouvelles analyses radiocarbones calibrées, voir 1979, cf. aussi 1978. Cette théorie a été critiquée par Yakar 1979.

<sup>5</sup> Pour la liste des rois hittites selon la “chronologie courte”, voir Otten 1961: 754-5; Cornelius 1973: 353.

<sup>6</sup> Voir Goetze 1957: 84-85 (chronologie longue”), Gurney 1954: 216 (“chronologie moyenne”).

<sup>7</sup> Sur la date d’accession de Shuppiluliuma I, voir Tadmor 1970: 97; Cornelius 1973: 321-322 (note 53) et 331 (note 54).

<sup>8</sup> Voir Otten 1971; Bin-Nun 1974; Carruba 1974.

<sup>9</sup> Pour l'histoire de cette période, voir Houwink ten Cate 1970: ch. 4; Carruba: 1969; 1971; 1973; 1977; Güterbock 1970; Hawkins 1972; Bin-Nun 1973; Košak 1980. Pour la datation des textes moyen-hittites, voir Rüster 1972; Neu et Rüster 1973 (avec bibl.); Košak 1980a. Voir la dernière liste des textes moyen-hittites chez Oettinger 1979: 573-580. Cf. Kammenhuber 1970; Heinhold-Kramer *et alii* 1979.

<sup>10</sup> Voir Otten 1963; Bittel 1970: 89-90; 1976a; Helck 1976; Otten 1976. A notre avis, l'énigme de l'abandon total de l'Anatolie Centrale après la chute de l'Empire s'explique par une forte dépopulation de cette région encore sous l'Empire. Le processus de dépopulation a probablement commencé à l'époque moyen-hittite et a été causé surtout par des guerres continuelles avec les Gashga et par une terrible épidémie qui a commencé sous le règne de Shuppiluliuma I et a continué sous le règne de Murshili II. Ce problème sera traité dans notre prochain article.

<sup>11</sup> Pour ces royaumes, voir un aperçu de Hawkins 1974 (avec bibl.).

<sup>12</sup> Pour la langue et l'épigraphie lydienne, voir Heubeck 1969; Gusmani 1979.

<sup>13</sup> Pour les villes de Karahna et Zithara et ses dieux, voir del Monte et Tischler 1978: 177-180 et 513-514; pour Karzi et Hapantali(ya), voir Gurney 1977: 4, 6, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Pour Telibinu, voir Güterbock 1961: 144; 1959; 1975; 172-173; cf. Hoffner 1974: 82-84; pour Halki, voir Gurney 1977: 12 et note 9.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. le récit du roi Murshili II dans ses "Annales développées": "Comme la ville de Yahresha et aussi le pays de Piggainaresha m'étaient hostiles, je suis allé à Yahresha. J'ai transformé les jours en nuits (c'est-à-dire, l'armée de Murshili dormait quand il faisait jour et marchait la nuit — G. K.) et j'ai conduit mes troupes en hâte. Moi, le grand roi, j'ai marché avec mon infanterie et ma cavalerie inaperçus. Le dieu de l'orage tout-puissant, mon maître, a invoqué le dieu Hashamili, mon maître, pour m'aider. Et celui-ci m'a rendu invisible (litt. "m'a caché"), de sorte que personne ne m'a vu" (KBo IV 4 III 29-35, publié par Goetze 1933: 126-127).

<sup>16</sup> Voir Laroche 1947: 37-8; 1947a: 215 (ZABABA), Goetze 1933: 126-127 (KBo IV 4 III 32-35; Gurney 1977: 5 et note 1, 12 et note 10 (Hashamili); Kummel 1967: 101-103 (Yarri); Laroche 1947: 91 (Zappana).

<sup>17</sup> Voir ANET: 126-128 (le mythe de Telibinu, surtout sections a, d); 356-357 (le rituel de fondation d'un temple, surtout ll. 28-34 de *recto*); Goetze 1957: 162-164.

<sup>18</sup> La dernière publication de ce texte difficile et incomplet est de Cagni 1969. Voir aussi Bottéro 1978: 137 note 28; 152-153.

<sup>19</sup> Voir Gurney: 1977: 5, 6, 13 et note 6 (avec bibl.). Remarquons qu'Otten (1953: 63 et note 13) a proposé de lier Pirwa avec le nom divin Birūa, attesté dans le fameux "bottin des dieux" assyrien et défini comme "Ishtar des Sutéens" (III R 66 VII 19, voir Frankena 1954: 83). Cette proposition semble plausible si l'on tient compte du fait que Pirwa a été apparemment vénéré(e) à Kültepe-Kanish déjà à l'époque des colonies assyriennes, à en juger par son appartenance au panthéon des "chanteurs de Kanish" et par son apparition sur quelques sceaux et figurines datant de Kārum Kanish II (voir Özgüç 1965: 67-68).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. aussi A I 2, 5-8, 23-27, 33, III 11-12, 40-41; B IV 31-32.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. ANET: 398.

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## BOOK REVIEW

Angelo BRELICH, *Storia delle religioni, perchè?*—Napoli, Liguori Editore, 1979, 257 p. 5,500 lire. *Perennitas, Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich*, Promossi della Cattedra di Religioni del mondo classico dell' Università degli Studi di Roma-Roma, Edizioni dell' Ateneo, 1980, 668 p. 45,000 lire.

The first of these two volumes is a posthumously published collection of essays by Angelo Brelich, in which he considers the whole subject of the history of religions from a more general and theoretical angle than that of his other works. Some of the essays already been previously published in the author's lifetime, but the first was only completed a year before he died, and the last was written for the use of non-specialist students, after the Italian university reforms of 1968. They have been collected and published with an introduction by Vittorio Lanternari.

The first is an autobiographical survey of the whole career of Brelich, and of the development of his ideas. Anyone who is an admirer of his work should read this astonishingly honest, self-critical and moving record of his intellectual progress, which is aptly entitled "Verità e scienza: una vita". Few academic writers can have analysed their work so objectively, or been so explicit about the problems which they have encountered.

In the remaining essays Brelich is concerned above all to define the nature and purpose of the subject which preoccupied him through most of his career. The most important of these is probably his "Prolegomeni a una Storia delle religioni", which was originally written in 1963 for a French *Histoire des religions* (Paris, 1970). Brelich sees religions as the product of men's desire to gain control of what seems to lie beyond their power, and hence as essentially man-made systems, designed to satisfy certain needs of society. He argues also that a religion cannot be studied in isolation from the culture of which it is a part, and at the same time that this culture must be seen in its own context, against the background of related and earlier cultures. The comparativist is thus faced by the problem of how to combine the specialisation required to understand a particular society and its religion with the breadth of knowledge needed to trace the development of different religions throughout history. Brelich, however, concluded this essay on a relatively optimistic note, looking forward to the possibility of genuine comparative studies, founded on the work of

specialists, in spite of all the difficulties caused by the modern tendency towards the fragmentation of knowledge.

It is this fragmentation which concerns him in the following essay, together with the increasing isolation of academics from the general society to which they belong. Brelich was always searching for a greater community of knowledge between specialists, and for ways to make their work and ideas more accessible to society as a whole, and it is this which gives his own work such immediacy and force.

The next essay is a defence of the historical approach to the study of religion, against current tendencies to undervalue this. He argues that even if one accepts the basic continuity of human nature or of structures of thought, one must still admit the importance of differences between different societies and periods of history; and he makes the telling point that even the most elaborate anti-historicist theories have emerged at a particular historical period, and are thus themselves a historical phenomenon!

In the last essay of this series one of the consequences of the historical approach, as Brelich sees it, is that a historian should try to explain religious phenomena in purely human terms, even if he is himself a believer in a particular faith (pp. 249-50). Surely, however, Brelich's view of the historian's task cannot be entirely satisfactory to anyone who himself believes in the possibility of divine revelation working within human history, it seems to me that this shows up something of the dangers and limitations of the approach which Brelich advocated, as a fully satisfactory way of understanding the nature of religious developments throughout history.

As a whole, however, these essays bear very clearly the stamp of a mind whose honesty, clarity and determination in the quest for truth can command nothing but admiration and respect.

A fitting testimony to the respect in which Brelich was in fact held is the volume of studies in his honour, *Perennitas*, to which thirty-six scholars from many countries have contributed essays on past and present religions. The list of friends at the beginning also includes a hundred individuals and many institutions. The range of subjects is even clearer evidence of Brelich's own breadth of interests, and the inability of a single reviewer to do justice to the volume is ironically an indication of the problems affecting such comparative studies, problems which Brelich himself saw so clearly! Many of the articles will be useful to students in particular fields, but as one which is likely to interest scholars on a wider level I should single out H. S. Versnel's essay on the reactions which followed the death of Germanicus "Destruction, *devotio* and despair in a situation of anomaly". He examines this phenomenon in the light of parallels from

many others societies, and of recent anthropological theories, and shows how the symptoms of breakdown of normal social order sometimes associated specifically with late antiquity could already manifest themselves in particular circumstances at an earlier period.

I should also like to mention the shorter piece by C. J. Bleeker entitled “Die aktuelle Bedeutung der antiken Religionen”. This theme would certainly have won Brelich’s own approval, and Bleeker’s insistence on the need to distinguish clearly between the religions of the ancient world and both the so-called primitive and the higher religions also echoes one of the themes of Brelich’s own *Prolegomeni*. Bleeker concentrates on identifying the most essential feature of ancient Egyptian religion, which he sees as the belief in the order of the world, *Ma-a-t*, and he concludes with the observation that later civilisation owes to Israel, Greece, and Egypt three main contributions, which he describes as “eine begeisterende religiöse Wahrheit, ein erfinderisches Denken”, and “Vertrauen auf die Weltordnung”. As he says, the modern world, if it is going to survive, stands in need of all of these three things!

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## CHRONICLE AND CALENDAR OF EVENTS

On May 8-10, 1983 the *Institute for the Advanced Study of Religion*, the Divinity School, the University of Chicago hosted a conference on "The History of Religions—Its Past, Present, and Future Prospects—With Central Focus on Methodological Issues." Organized by Professor Joseph Kitagawa with the assistance of Professors Frank Reynolds and Wendy O'Flaherty, all of the University of Chicago, the conference gathered historians of religions and others interested in the discipline from North America together with select representatives of major European traditions. Senior scholars in the field prepared four papers to serve as the basis for general discussion. Michel Meslin of the Sorbonne presented his insights into the methodological history of the discipline; Ugo Bianchi of the University of Rome discussed the current methodological issues; Ninian Smart of Lancaster, England and the University of California, Santa Barbara shared his views on the partners with whom historians of religions converse; and Charles Long of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill offered his thoughts on the future prospects of the discipline. After each paper three North American scholars presented prepared responses. The discussions touched upon such topics as the relations of the history of religions to philosophy and theology, questions of reductionism and subjectivity in interpretation, and the institutional placement of historians of religions and the resulting effects upon their research and teaching.

In addition to the four papers, two evening lectures were presented by Professors at the Divinity School, the University of Chicago. Mircea Eliade spoke on religious and alchemical structures as they appear in the modern world, and Paul Ricoeur reflected on hermeneutics and the history of religions with special reference to problems of time.

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Organised by the *Religionsgeschichtliche Seminar* of the University of Bonn and co-sponsored by the IAHR, a seminar took place at St. Augustin near Bonn (*nota bene* at the home of the Anthropos-Institute and of the editorial office of *Monumenta Serica*—a more auspicious setting could hardly have been imagined) between May 24-26, 1983, on "Religious Syncretism in Turkish and Mongolian Central Asia" (cf. NUMEN XXIX, 1982, p. 288). It was a highly technical workshop, more or less for specialists on-

ly who each contributed from his own sub-specialism (Mongolian, Buryat, Middle Iranian, Sogdian, Turkish and Uigur, Tibetan, and much more). The presence of Hungarian colleagues with their highly developed tradition of Mongolian studies was a special bonus. If ever there was a “carefour de civilisations” (which also means of syncretisms) it was Central Asia, both in terms of the geographical contact of culture areas and in terms of levels of culture (e.g. Shamanism and Mongol folk-religion on the one hand, and literary “high religions” on the other e.g., Lamaism, Nestorianism, Manichaeism). Incidentally the subject of the Seminar was reminiscent of the seminar on “Serindia: the study of Central Asian Religion” organised last year by the University of California at Berkeley. The syncretistic capacities of Buddhism, whether in relation to Nestorianism, Manichaeism or others forms of religion (needless to say that Turfan got its full due!) was once again powerfully borne in on all participants. In the nature of the present state of research, the seminar could not be conclusive, but it was eminently rewarding.

The AAR (American Academy of Religion) Buddhism Group has decided to publish a *Newsletter* for the purpose of providing information not only to its members but also to friends abroad concerning North American graduate programmes, study and research opportunities outside the U.S.A., undergraduate curricula and studies (including information on faculty and on texts used), and news about seminars and conferences. Those interested in receiving the newsletter should write to the Managing Editor, Prof. Nathan Katz, Dept. of Religion, Williams College, Williamstown MA 01267, U.S.A.

Lack of communication is increasingly and keenly felt by scholars even in what is supposed to be the same field. Hence it may be useful to draw the attention of IAHR members to a) less widely known publications and journals, b) newsletters and bulletins of which they may not be aware but which may help the dissemination of knowledge and exchange of information. Our British member group (BAHR) regularly publishes a very informative Bulletin. The French Société Ernest Renan reports on its activities in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*. The recently started Newsletter of the Buddhism Group of the AAR has already been mentioned. The Quarterly Journal of Indology and Oriental Subjects called *Glory of India* (publ. by Messrs. Motilal Banarsidass, 40 U.A., Bungalow Rd., Jawahar Nagar, Delhi 110007, India) intends to serve not only as an indological periodical but also as a vehicle of information regarding “research in progress”, theses and dissertations submitted viz. accepted etc. Institutions, university departments and individual scholars are invited to send relevant information to the aforementioned journal. An unpretentious but in its own

way useful newsletter *YANA* is published in New Zealand as a "Vehicle for ferrying news and views around religious academia in New Zealand".

Our member group the "Assoc. for the Study of Religion (Southern Africa)" is publishing a journal entitled *Religion in Southern Africa*. Since the journal does not limit itself to the religions of the area, the title should be understood as including "Religious Studies in Southern Africa". The journal is already in its fourth year—*ad multus annos*.

*The East-West Religions in Encounter* Conference is planning to hold its next meeting in Honolulu, Hawaii, during January 3-11, 1984. The ostensible theme is "Paradigmatic Shifts in Buddhism and in Christianity", using Kuhn's theory of paradigms as a conceptual framework, and focussing on the different Buddhist and Christian paradigms of the "Self" and their cultural contexts. The presence of a very varied assortment of theologians and philosophers (Hans Küng, H. Nakamura, John Cobb, Masao Abe, Fred Streng, M. Doi, D. Kalupahana, Donald Swearer, A. Bloom *et al.*) promises a lively conference. For information write to Prof. David W. Chappell, East-West Religious Project, 2530 Dole Street, Univ. of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.

The *International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences* has circulated its first notification concerning its forthcoming (the 11th) Congress, scheduled to take place in Southampton and London (Great Britain), 1-7 September 1986. Correspondence should be addressed to Prof. P. J. Ucko, Dept. of Archaeology, University of Southampton, Southampton SO9 59H, England.

RJZW